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THE TEMPLE WOMEN OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

By D. D. LUCKENBILL
University of Chicago

In an article entitled "The Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code"[1] Professor Lyon has called in question the generally accepted interpretation of certain sections of that Code of Babylonian law. Since the appearance of this essay (1912), which was of course based upon the text of the standard (stela) edition of the Code found at Susa in December of 1901 and January of 1902, portions of a number of "law-court" editions, written on clay tablets, have come to light. The new versions, which in part cover the sections discussed by Lyon, are published in Langdon's *Historical and Religious Texts* (1914), No. 22 (Plates 20 and 21), and in Poebel's *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (1914), No. 93 (Plates 39 and 40). As we shall see presently, Langdon was in doubt concerning the correctness of his copy of an important variant reading, and Poebel even failed to notice the presence of the same reading in his text. It is the purpose of this article to test some of Lyon's conclusions by means of the variant readings furnished by the new versions and then to go on to a discussion of the position and character of the "sacred" women of Babylonia. To get the problem before us as quickly as possible, let

[1] *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to C. H. Toy*, pp. 341 f.

me set down the numbers of the paragraphs of the Code under discussion, followed by the readings of the names of the consecrated women as found (1) in the standard edition of the Code (C), (2) in the version published by Langdon (L), and (3) in that given by Poebel (P).

	C	L	P
§ 40	*SAL-ME*	. . . .	
§ 110	*SAL-ME, NIN-AN* (*entum*)	. . . .	*SA[L-M]E ù NIN-[AN]* (Col. 5)
§ 127	*NIN-AN*	. . . .	Lines containing names broken away (Col. 8)
§ 137	*SAL-ME*	. . . .	Lines containing names broken away (Col. 9)
§§ 144–47	*SAL-ME*	*DA[M]* (Obv. Col. 1)	*DAM** (Col. 10)
§§ 178–79	*NIN-AN, SAL-ME, zi-ik-ru-um*	*NIN-AN, zi-ik-ru-um* (Rev. Col. 4)	. . . .
§ 180	*SAL-ME gâgûm, zi-ik-ru-um*	. . . .	. . . .
§ 181	*SAL-ME, NU-GIG* (*ḳadištum*)*, NU-BAR* (*zêrmašîtum*)	. . . .	. . . .
§ 182	*SAL-ME d Marduk*	. . . .	. . . .
§§ 187, 192, 193 . .	*sal zi-ik-ru-um*	. . . .	. . . .

* See discussion of this variant below.

Let us begin with §§ 137 and 144–47, which have to do with divorce and the question of the "second" wife, that is, the concubine.[1] The ideogram *SAL-ME* found in these sections of the standard edition of the Code has usually been interpreted as the equivalent of the ideogram *DAM = aššatum*, "wife." Such is the interpretation of Harper, Ungnad,[2] and others. Lyon, on the other hand, believes that the ideogram has the same meaning in these sections as elsewhere and translates it by "votary." Now it is true that the only reason scholars had for assuming (there was no proof) that *SAL-ME* meant *aššatum*, "wife," in these sections was the content of the sections themselves interpreted in the light of other portions of the Code. That *SAL-ME* is not the ideogram scholars expect to find here may be seen from a slip on the part of Ungnad.[3] He is comparing § 145 with § 148. Evidently he quotes them from the transliterated text, for in his notes he speaks of the ideogram in § 145 as being *DAM*. It

[1] See following note.

[2] Kohler und Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* (hereafter K u. U), II, 124.

[3] *OLZ*, XVIII (1915), 73 f.; Ungnad shows that the ideogram for concubine, *ŠU-GE-tum*, was pronounced *šanîtum* in the Semitic. The concubine was the "second" wife.

is, of course, *SAL-ME*.   In like manner Poebel, in his notes on the new edition which he had published,[1] fails to note *DAM* as the reading in § 145 and § 146 instead of the *SAL-ME* of the standard text. He, too, seems to have forgotten that *DAM* was not found in these sections of the stela text.

Now it is just this variant *DAM* in Poebel's edition which justifies the usual interpretation of §§ 137, 144-47.   In Langdon's text, copied at Constantinople, the sign *DAM* in § 145 (Obv. Col. 1) is drawn as if rubbed on the original.   In his notes (p. 7) Langdon expresses the belief that the *aššatum* (*DAM*) instead of *SAL-ME* might be due to an error in his copy.   That the text was copied correctly is shown by the readings of Poebel's version.   In this version both § 145 and § 146 are found (Col. 10), but many of the signs are badly rubbed.   Some are gone.   Nevertheless, in § 145 the first half of the ideogram *DAM* is preserved, while in § 146 the second half of the same ideogram is left.   The new versions, therefore, have *DAM*, the usual ideogram for "wife," in §§ 145, 146, and it is practically certain that the same sign also stood in §§ 137, 144, 147. These paragraphs of the Code deal then with ordinary wives, not with wives who were also "votaries," as Lyon believes.

Unfortunately neither of the new versions contains § 40, the only other section of the Code where the meaning of the ideogram *SAL-ME* is in doubt.   The interpretation of this law is in doubt anyway, and new light upon any portion of it would have been most welcome.

We turn now to the paragraphs of the Code whose enactments undoubtedly concern temple women.   The variant readings should first be noted.

In § 110 the standard edition reads, "If a *SAL-ME NIN-AN* (*entum*) not living in a convent, have opened a wineshop," etc.   Here the *SAL-ME* has been taken as a kind of determinative before the *NIN-AN*: Harper, *aššatum NIN-AN*, "priestess"; Rogers (*Cuneiform Parallels*) *išippatum entum*, "female votary," Ungnad (*Texte und Bilder*, 153), "'Nonne' (oder) Gottesschwester."   The version published by Poebel seems to have read *SAL-ME ù NIN-AN*, that is, "priestess *or* nun."   In § 179, L omits *SAL-ME* between *NIN-AN*

[1] *Ibid.*, 161 f., 193 f., 225 f., 257 f.

and *zikrum*. As we shall see below, these variants do not affect the meaning of these sections of the Code.

In discussing the position and character of the consecrated women of the Code, Lyon seems greatly concerned to prove that "the Code of Hammurabi furnishes no basis for an indictment of any class of these consecrated women" (p. 356). He combats the idea that any one of them was a real mother, but unmarried, and hence "a low character." He admits that the *ḳadištum* and *zêrmaštltum* had bad reputations in the magical literature and elsewhere.[1] "But such passages," he thinks, "do not seem to require any modification of the impression which the Code makes as to the character of the consecrated women in whose behalf it legislates" (p. 365).

Now it seems to me that Lyon has failed to make the proper differentiation between the various classes of "consecrated" women mentioned in the Code. While he has made abundant use of the legal documents approximately contemporaneous with the promulgation of the Code (that is, First Dynasty documents), I do not think that he has allowed all of these documents to present their evidence.

First as to the *SAL-ME*. She was evidently a priestess (*išippatum*) corresponding to the priest class *išippu*. The function of these priests (*išippûtu*) was to cleanse (with holy water) and sanctify temples and other shrines.[2] Ordinarily a particular kind of *SAL-ME* is mentioned in the legal documents—*SAL-ME* *ᵈMarduk*, *SAL-ME* *ᵈŠamaš*, that is, priestess of Marduk or priestess of Shamash. So we have the Marduk priestess specified in § 182 of the Code, the "convent priestess (*SAL-ME gâgûm*)" in § 180.[3]

Lyon says further:

In the marriage laws [§§ 137, 144–47] in which the votary [*SAL-ME*] figures it seems that she does not bear. The specific word for bearing, *alâdu*,

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[1] Cf. Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, pp. 47 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] In the texts published by Ranke (*Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*) *SAL-ME* *ᵈŠamaš* and *SAL* *ᵈŠamaš* seem to be used interchangeably for "priestess of Shamash." Strictly speaking, *SAL* *ᵈŠamaš* would mean "woman (*sinništum*) of Shamash" while *SAL-ME* *ᵈŠamaš* is "priestess (*išippatum*) of Shamash." *ME* = *išib, išippu;* cf. Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 29. This interchange of *SAL-ME* and *SAL* probably accounts for the appearance of *SAL-ME* in §§ 137, 144–47 of the standard edition of the Code. There it means "wife," as we saw from the new versions. That *SAL* = *sinništum*, "woman," was used elsewhere in the Code for "wife" (a usage common to many languages) may be seen by comparing paragraphs 141 and 142.

is never applied to her, though it is used about twenty times of other classes of wife (*aššatu*, *ḫirtu*, the secondary wife, and the widow who has married again). The votary wife "causes her husband to have" children (*ušarši*, *uštabši*). . . . . This consistent difference in the use of terms can hardly be accidental, and the conclusion seems natural that, as a rule at least, the votary wife was barren.

But we saw above that the new versions of the Code show that the ordinary wife and not the votary wife is referred to in these sections. The ordinary wife in Babylonia "presented her husband with children" just as she does in other lands. Nevertheless, it would remove the doubt as to whether or not the priestess (*SAL-ME*) *bore* children if we should find the word *alâdu* used in connection with the mention of her children.

In a legal text[1] we read of the adoption of a son by Bunini-abi and his wife Hushutum, a priestess of Marduk: "Even if Bunini-abi and Hushutum, the priestess of Marduk, should have children (*liršu*), Shamash-abili [the adopted son] is their oldest brother." Here the word used is a form of *rašû*, "to have, get" (cf. *ušarši*, above). The same word is used in another adoption text[2] whose wording is in other respects also almost identical with the one just quoted. But here the adopting mother is not a priestess. That the *SAL-ME* did bear children is rendered practically certain by two very interesting texts.[3] Absolute certainty on this point is not reached, owing to the fact that the woman is not called a priestess in so many words; but the provision for carrying her chair to the temple of Marduk makes it reasonably certain that she was a Marduk priestess. Warad-Shamash takes as his wives two sisters, Taram-Saggil and Iltani. After the usual formulas found in marriage contracts, we read: "And Iltani shall wash the feet of Taram-Saggil and carry her chair to the house of her god. If Taram-Saggil is cross, Iltani shall be cross, if she is happy, she shall be happy.[4] Her seal she shall not open. 10 *ka* of flour she shall grind and bake for her." The last line is doubtful. The Babylonians were as careless with their pronouns as we are, but the meaning is generally clear.

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[1] Also referred to by Lyon; cf. K u. U, III, No. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 19. [3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 2 and 3.

[4] For another interpretation of these lines see Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, p. 11.

Note that the secondary wife was not to open her sister's mail.   But the important statements come in the contract drawn up with the secondary wife.   From this we learn that the chair is to be carried into the temple of *Marduk*, and *"the children which they have borne or shall bear, are their children"* (that is, the children of both).[1]

The *NIN-AN* or *entum* was closely related to the *SAL-ME* (*išippatum*).   An interesting text published by Professor Clay[2] gives an account of the dedication of the daughter of Nabonidus to the office of *entum*.   In Col. II. 10 f. we find her duties summed up in the word *išippûtum*.   As we saw above, this word designates the function of the *išippu*-priest and probably also that of the *išippatum* (*SAL-ME*).   We have already referred to § 110, where the *entum* and *SAL-ME* are grouped together.   This paragraph shows that the *SAL-ME* and the *entum* might or might not be living in a convent. The legal documents have shown us that the *SAL-ME* might marry, live in her own house, and have children.   Other documents make it clear that many *SAL-ME* of Shamash, Ninib, and other gods lived in convents.   We hear much of the convent (*gâgûm*) of the Shamash priestesses.   But we have no evidence that the *entum* ever married or had children of her own, or that she adopted sons or daughters.[3] The presumption is that ordinarily she lived in a convent, so we may call her a nun.   Note particularly that the *entum* is the only temple woman mentioned in § 127.   "If a man have caused the finger to be pointed at a nun or the wife of a man and have not justified himself, they shall bring that man before the judge," etc.

In § 181 we have two more classes of priestesses mentioned: *SAL-ME kadištam û lu zêrmašîtam*.   The more general term priestess (*SAL-ME*) is used, and then there follow the names of the two special kinds, the *kadištum* and the *zêrmašîtum*.

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[1] *mârû* ᵐᵉˢ *ma-la-a wa-al-du û i-wa-la-du mârû* ᵐᵉˢ-*ši-na-ma*.   There is one more point which should be noted.   The scribe has written the name of the father of Taram-Saggil and Iltani as Sin-abushu in one text and as Shamash-tatum in the other.   Nevertheless, there cannot be any doubt that the two texts refer to the same persons.

[2] *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 45.

[3] There is only one text (to my knowledge) which might be used to show that the *entum* might have children, namely, the Legend of Sargon (cf. *AJSL*, 1917, p. 146).   But it is doubtful whether Sargon's mother was a nun.   The word used is *enitum*.   I may add that in my discussion of this term I failed to do what I am insisting upon here—that is, to differentiate between the different kinds of temple women.

That the *kadištum* was a temple prostitute is certain from the literature cited by Lyon.[1] He would, however, distinguish between the *kadištum* and *zêrmaštitum* of these late texts and the women of the same name mentioned in the Code. That this will not do seems to me to follow from a number of legal documents dating from the First Dynasty.

There is no record of the marriage of a *kadištum*, yet they were regularly employed as wet-nurses! In a document dated in the reign of Hammurabi[2] we read: "Zuhuntum, the wife of Anum-kinum, gave her child to the *kadištum* Iltani to nurse. Thereupon she was unable to give Iltani the nursing fee for three years (nursing), board, oil for anointing, and clothing. 'Take the child, let it be your child,' said Zuhuntum to Iltani, the *kadištum*." Iltani takes the child, but pays the mother three shekels of silver, the difference between the nursing fee and the market value of the child.

In another instance[3] a child is given to a wet-nurse who is not a *kadištum*. There is a dispute as to the pay she should receive. The case is taken before the judges. "Thereupon the judges called in the *kadištum* (plural). Whereupon she received her nursing fee." The prostitutes were, of course, called in as professionals in order that the judges might determine what was the proper fee.

Take another case.[4] Shalurtum, the wife of Enim-Nami, adopts Awirtum, the daughter of Hupatum and Rubatum, his wife. The child is still an infant, so the mother is paid one and two-thirds shekels of silver for bringing her up. Then Awirtum is made a *kadištum* "in order that she may let her mother, Shalurtum, 'eat food.'" Can there be any doubt as to the source of the income of the girl? We may imagine that the parents of this child were poor and disposed of their daughter at the best price they could get. They might have sold her into slavery, but this would have been the last straw.

In another document,[5] from the Cassite period, we learn of the adoption of Etirtum by Ina-Uruk-rishat, "who had no daughter." She adopted the girl in order that her daughter Etirtum might pour out water for her when she died. By the terms of the contract

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[1] P. 365 (see above).

[2] K u. U, III, No. 32.

[3] *Ibid.,* III, No. 33.

[4] *Ibid.,* IV, No. 781.

[5] *Ibid.,* III, No. 24.

Ina-Uruk-rishat might give the girl to a husband or make her a prostitute, but in no case might she make her her slave.

The other class of priestess mentioned in § 181 is the *zêrmašîtum*.[1] From the legal documents we learn that a Marduk priestess (*SAL-ME ᵈMarduk*) might also be a *zêrmašîtum*. Awil-Sin gives his daughter, a Marduk priestess and *zêrmašîtum*, together with a handsome dowry, to Warad-Shamash. "For all time, her children are her heirs."[2]

Sin-eribam, at the time of his daughter's betrothal, designates certain gifts which are to be given her. "Thereupon Shubultum, her mother, Kishat-Sin, Igmil-Sin, and Sippar-lisher, her brothers, gave them to her and let her enter the house of Ilushu-bani, her husband. . . . . For all time, her children are her heirs."[3]

Somewhat different is the following: "1/3 *sar* of land . . . . 1 slave, 1 bed and 1 'sailor-chair'; this is the portion of Lamassi, the *zêrmašîtum*, daughter of Upi-magir. As soon as a man marries her, she shall take her personal property and enter the house of her husband. Her house (real-estate) and her residue (?) are her brothers exclusively."[4]

There remains the *zikrum* (§§ 178–80, 187, 192, 193). The spelling of the name is peculiar. It is a masculine form and is written as a nominative, no matter what its position in the sentence. That *ˢᵃˡ zikrum* is an ideogram for a form like *zikirtum* was suggested by Ungnad, who also holds that it is evidently to be connected with the *zikrêti* (women of the harem) of the Assyrian inscriptions.[5] Here he was on the right track, but failed to follow up his clue. He still translates *zikrum* with "Dirne,"[6] making it a parallel of *kadištum*.

Now, it is noticeable that the *SAL-ME* (*išippatum*), *NIN-AN* (*entum*), *kadištum*, and *zêrmašîtum* are all mentioned in the religious literature. But the name of the *zikrum* does not appear.[7] It would seem, therefore, that she does not belong to the priestesses.

[1] On the etymology of this word see Schorr, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

[2] K u. U, III, No. 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, No. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, No. 50.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 134.

[6] *Babylonische Briefe*, p. 299.

[7] Cf. Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.

This is, of course, an *argumentum e silentio*, but positive evidence that she was a palace woman, not a temple woman, is, I believe, at hand. But first a word as to how she probably became associated with the temple women in the minds of scholars.

A man is known by the company he keeps. So is a woman. Now in §§ 178 f. of the Code the *zikrum* is mentioned along with the priestess and the nun. This put her in the ranks of the temple women, and through guesses as to the etymology of her name she finally landed in the class of prostitutes.[1] In §§ 187, 192, 193, however, she is mentioned together with the *manzaz-pânim muzaz ekallim*, "the chamberlain stationed in the palace." The writer feels sure that if these sections of the Code had preceded, instead of following, §§ 178 f. the *zikrum* would never have been classed with the temple women, and her evident connection with the harem would have been noticed.

The sections in which the *zikrum* is mentioned along with the chamberlain have to do with the adopted children of these two classes. An interesting letter[2] concerning such an adopted son has come down to us. Like most letters, it is full of linguistic difficulties, but the sense is reasonably clear: "To Taribum speak: Thus saith Adyatum: 'May Shamash grant thee life.'" This is the customary introduction. Now we get down to the subject-matter: "The scribe X-bani has made the following statement: thus he spoke: 'A father-house I have not, therefore, I entered the house of the *sal zikritum* as a son (*ana bi-it sal zi-ik-ri-tim a-na ma-ru-tim i-ru-ub*, literally, the house of the *zikritum*[3] for sonship I entered). The house which I entered as (adopted) son, to the exit of the palace they caused to go forth.'" The last sentence is difficult. I follow Ebeling[4] rather than Ungnad. The adopted son is turned out of his home, but also *out of the palace*. The *bit sal zikritim* is connected with the palace, not with the temple. The rest of the letter is not particularly difficult: "A letter of my lord (the king, to the effect that) you are to give me a home, has come to you; why have you not carried it out? I shall bring complaint." Adyatum advises that "either they give him

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[1] Cf. Lyon, p. 350.
[2] Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 164.
[3] The form might be singular or plural.
[4] *RA*, X (1913), pp. 24 f.

back the home he entered as son or else furnish him a home just like it(?); in order that he may not enter a complaint."

The only other mention (to my knowledge) of the *zikrum*, outside of the Code, is in a pay-list from the time of Ammisaduga.[1]   Grain is paid out for the keep of weavers (female) and the *sal zikrum*, for offerings, for the board of the Sutean, the watchman of the grain-field, etc.   Now weavers and spinners, when they are female, are frequently mentioned in the pay-lists of the harem.   Genouillac has published and studied a number of old Sumerian texts,[2] in which are given, among other things, the number and pay of the women employed in the harem, the house of Baranamtara, the wife of Lugalanda, Shagshag, the queen of Urukagina, and other royal ladies.   Some of these women were the servants of the queen who looked after her wants—the table, etc.; others were spinners; still others looked after the offerings.   The list mentioning the weavers, *zikrum*, etc., may well have been one of the pay-rolls of the harem.[3] However, in this discussion we must not lose sight of the fact that from earliest Sumerian days there was the closest connection between the palace and the temple.

Hammurabi's legislation on the rights and privileges of the temple women can be understood only when read as part of the legislation on the family.   The temple woman started out in life as the daughter of Babylonian parents.   Ordinarily the daughter was given in marriage to some suitor acceptable to her father,[4] and thus was formed the nucleus of a new family.   A marriage was not legal unless a marriage contract had been drawn up (§ 128).   The economic foundation of the new family was laid at the time of the marriage.   The groom brought to the prospective father-in-law a bride-price (*tirḫâtum*).   Already in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon the custom of "tying the bride-price to the girdle of the bride," that is, of giving it to her, had become the regular procedure. The groom also brought a gift (*nudunnum*) to the bride.   The bride's

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[1] K u. U, III, No. 773.

[2] *La Société Sumérienne*, p. xxxii.

[3] For the harem of the Assyrian kings, cf. Kohler und Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechts-urkunden*, pp. 445 f.

[4] Or mother in case of the father's death.   If both parents were dead, the brothers gave her away.

father settled upon her a dowry (*šeriḳtum*). This dowry seems to have been all the daughter could expect from her father's estate. On her death it went to her children (§ 162). In case she died childless it reverted to the paternal estate (*bît abiša*, § 163).

But the Babylonian father might choose to dispose of his daughter in a way different from the one just described. He might give her to a god or to the king for his harem. The Code is specific as to her *šeriḳtum*. This was to revert to her brothers unless the father had inserted into the deed the provision "that she might dispose of her estate as she pleased," and had thus granted her "full discretion" (§§ 178, 179). In the legal documents such discretion is usually given by the phrase "her children are her heirs."[1] In case the father had not granted his daughter her *šeriḳtum* during his lifetime, "after he had gone to his fate" she received a share in the goods of her father's estate. This share varied according to the service to which her father had devoted her. If she had been sent to the monastery (*išippat gâgûm*) as nun or priestess, or to the palace as *zikrum*, her share was equal to the portion of a son. She enjoyed it as long as she lived, but on her death it went to her brothers (§ 180). In case she became a priestess (not resident in a monastery), a *ḳadištum* or *zêrmaštîtum*, her share was only one-third the portion of a son. Again it reverted to her brothers on her death (§ 181). If, however, she was a priestess of Marduk, her share was one-third the portion of a son, but she paid no tax and she might dispose of it "after her death, ... wherever it seemed good to her" (§ 182).

Why a son's portion in some cases and only one-third of this in others? Was it because one class was held in higher esteem than the other? Possibly. But the outstanding characteristic of the Hammurabi legislation is its insistence on economic justice. The income of the nun and priestess who lived in the monastery was fixed. It consisted of the income from her portion of her father's estate and such property as other priestesses settled upon her.[2] On the other hand, the priestess of Marduk (Shamash, etc.) might marry and live with her husband. Her portion of the paternal estate was only a third of the portion of a son. Similarly, a third of a son's portion went to

[1] See above, p. 8.
[2] Of this we hear much in the legal literature.

the *kadištum* and *zêrmašîtum*. Their income was undoubtedly aug-
mented by the "hire of a harlot." When the receipts began to
fall off(?), the *kadištum* might earn board and keep, together with
small wages, as wet-nurse. One wonders what became of the
children of the *kadištum*. The *zêrmašîtum* might marry. Did her
marriage occur after a period of service in the temple?[1]

The *zikrum* was treated like the nun or priestess who lived in the
monastery (§ 180, see above).[2] Her share was equal to the portion
of a son. Royalty has always shown its ability to look out for itself,
and many sections of the Code bear witness that Hammurabi's line
was no exception to this rule.

The "vestal virgin" and the temple prostitute were recognized
members of ancient society from before the days of Hammurabi down
to Roman times.[3] There is no particular reason why we should
label the *kadištum* and *zêrmašîtum* "bad characters." Their occupa-
tion had the sanction of church and state, but that it was "prostitu-
tion," though "sacred," cannot be denied.

[1] Should the evidence for this be forthcoming, it would furnish us with the particular
case of which the well-known statement of Herodotus is probably a generalization.

[2] This section alone should have kept scholars from classing the *zikrum* with the
prostitutes.

[3] See Kohler und Peiser, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, I, 109 f.

THE *RAB-ŠIṬIRTÊ*

By A. H. GODBEY
St. Louis, Mo.

Delitzsch, *HWB*, 194, conjectures that the *rab-U-te* may be *decurio*. There is no study of its use in the literature. Johns, *ADD*, III, 236, admits that if ⊀ means "ten" in this ideogram, we might have a *rab eŝrete,* or "tithe collector," but he knows no support for such reading, nor of any "tithe" system in Assyria. Hence he very properly does not consider the reading *rab eŝrete* proposed for K. 4395, III, 22, a solution. The idea of *decurio*, or decenary, or "tithing man"—humblest of all the distinctions in family and clan organization (where "thousand" is often a synonym for "family" in the Orient)—is not compatible with the apparent importance of the official in question. Actual usage must give us the significance of the title.

Does ⟨ here have any connection with "ten"? We know that it is not the original sign for "ten": this number is indicated in earlier inscriptions (Ur Bau, III, 4, or Gudea, E, 6, 21; C, 5, 15) by a round dot; also in Nos. 20, 30, 40, 50, the "ten" is so expressed (cf. Amiaud and Mechineau, 133, 134), yet the character ⊰ had long been in use, with distinct ideographic values: "hollow, concave, the sky, a hole." *Mi,* ⌒ = "dark, gloomy," in its early form is simply a rainy sky ⸺ .[1] *U,* ⁱˡᵘ ⊰ , the sky or wind-god, is Adad or Ramman. In the Harper letters, Ibašši-ilu uses *U* as *bêlu,* "Lord," in his oft repeated *Šarru bêlia* (perhaps he meant to compliment the King as "son of heaven," as the Chinese do).

The small fragment, Cyrus 2, line 4, names Na-din, an ᵃᵐᵉˡ *rab-U-tim*. No information can be derived from it. Peiser (*SABT*, IV, 259) does not venture a translation. The data in the Harper letters are more abundant than might be inferred from the index to the officials of the Sargonid Period, which shows but six occurrences. We may recognize at the outset that we are dealing with a plural: *rab-U-meš* appears in the broken letter [867] 81–2–4, 94, obv. 5.

[1] Cf. Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing,* I, 98, No. 380.

We find no connection with ten of anything, a tenth of anything, or with any sort of military or social organization.

In Vol. I of *HABL* we find ten letters of Marduk-šakin-šum: Nos. 17–26; in Vol. IV, two letters, 378–79; in Vol. VII, six letters, Nos. 661–66: a total of eighteen letters. In Vol. I we have four letters from Arad-Ea, 27–30; in Vol. VII, three letters, 667–69: a total of seven. In Vol. I, we have eleven letters of Ištar-šum-ereš, 31–41; in Vol. IV, three letters, 384–86; in Vol. VII, eight letters, 670–77: a total of twenty-two. The great prominence of this group of men in astrological matters, portents, etc., was noticed in the discussion of the Esar-haddon succession: the total of forty-eight letters really deals with nothing else; or rather, touches other matters only as related to their astrological knowledge, or "signs in the heavens." The writers are associated, they mention each other: letter 674 is from all three of them; they live at Arbela, the seat of Esar-haddon's favorite oracle. Now Ištar-šum-ereš mentions his title in [671] K. 678; he is the *rab-U-te* of Arbela (Harper has read *rab-U-GI*, instead of *rab-U-te*, as Johns rightly reads; while Johns reads the writer's name Ištar-nadin-aplu, evidently thinking of the writer of [829] K. 297, who calls himself the *rab-U-ti* of the *A-BA. Meš* of Arbela). This latter is to be added to our list. He probably wrote [423], 83-1-18, 12, for the official title is the same; the personal name = some god + a break + *apal*, Harper has not ventured to restore. He also is an astrologer. Then we have thirteen astrological letters in Vol. VIII, 816–28. In the first of these, Nabu-šum-iddin calls himself the *rab-U-te* of Nineveh. In the other letters, of Nabûa, he speaks of himself as being of the city of Aššur, but does not give his title. In [432] D.T. 220, we have another letter from one who does not give his name, but simply announces himself as the *rab-U-te* of Arbela. This is particularly suggestive. He assumes that such a title establishes his identity. To think of him as a petty "captain of ten" is out of the question. This may be Ištar-šum-ereš himself. As our small list of titles includes the *rab-U-te* of Arbela, of Nineveh, of Dur-Iakin, and probably of Aššur, we have a presumption in favor of one such officer in each important observatory town. We have thus a total of sixty-three letters, nearly all the important astrological letters in the

Harper volumes. Fifty-one of these are known to be of men intimately associated, who also name their titles in connection with their reports. For no other official in the whole index have we so much material, specifically and rigidly limited to one topic. If the data cited have any value, the title *rab-U-te* must be related to their business.

In VR. 36 we have the *locus classicus* for values of *U*. The values at opening follow in this order: *Ubanu*, (top), *Anu*, *Antu*, *Bel*, *Sin*, *Šamaš*, *Ištar*, *Ištarkakkabê*, *Kiššatu*, *uznu*, *le'u*, *hasisu*, *ilu*. The ideas of top, sky, sky-gods, supremacy, universe (all gods?) intelligence, power, are marked. No demon, evil spirit, earth-goddess, or god of the under-world is named in the long list. There is no Marduk, Nebo, or Nusku; the values of the sign must be early derivatives of the sky. Numerous words suggestive of breadth, depth, height, hollowness, occur. Particularly should be noticed *šaṭaru* (42*a*), *dupšarrutu* (52*a*, 53*a*), *nakabu* (37 *b*), in the words suggested by "dig," or "hollow out."

The association of the sky with ideas of wisdom and of writing is familiar in Semitic cosmological expressions. Isa. 34:4 speaks of the heavens as a scroll, a conception repeated in Rev. 6:14; while "signs in the heavens" are mentioned repeatedly in the Old Testament. That the Babylonian cosmology thought of such signs as a form of writing is clear from the expressions extant. Jensen (*Kosmologie*, 6, 7) collates such passages; the heavens being called an embroidered or written or blue-gray scroll: "Esagila I adorned, like the *šiṭir burumi* I made it to shine." "The eternal foundations, the structure destined for the future, whose sculptures were from ancient times carved with the *šiṭir burumi*." "Like a star of the *burumi* was their brilliancy." "Like the *šiṭir šamami* I made them splendid." The entire list cannot be quoted here. On p. 45 Jensen writes, "The glittering splendor of the nocturnal sky, with its stars, constellations, and star clusters, appeared to the Babylonians like the pictures upon the walls of their palaces and temples, and like their inscriptions written there." According to the former conception sculptures, signs, sketches, animals, appeared in the heavens; according to the latter, they were writings full of meaning. But while recognizing the familiar usage of *šiṭir šamami* and *šiṭir*

burumi, Jensen concludes that he is not sure *šiṭirtu* is really derived from *šaṭaru,* "write." He apparently had not noticed the association of ideas in connection with *U* in VR. 36. But whatever view be taken of the derivation of *šiṭirtu,* it is still clear that an officer whose business consisted in observing the *šiṭirte* of the heavens might be plausibly called the *rab-šiṭirte.*

But the connection between constellations and the art of writing goes farther. It exists not merely in the sign common to both, in the phraseology used in speaking of the heavens, in the astrological expression of "written in the stars" still surviving, but in the professional life of Assyria and Babylonia. Two or three times, as we have already noticed, we have the *rab-U-te* of the *A-BA. meš,* or "scribes." Either such officer is an *A-BA* or *dup-šarru,* of high rank, or is in charge of the scribes in some way. He is not the *A-BA. mati* or *A-BA. êkalli.* These "grand secretaries" had different functions, not astrological. One needed to be only a skilful *dupšarru* to attend to such official correspondence. The *rab-U-te* of the *A-BA* suggests a higher grade or degree in scribal skill. A similar idea is conveyed by the title *rab-A-BA* which stands distinct from the *A-BA* of the land or palace. At present I know of no plural form, or of anything that suggests him as controlling other scribes—unless we think of him as the schoolmaster of such. He seems merely a scribe of unusual learning.

We can deal but cautiously with names, as dates of many of Johns's documents are lost; and further, some names are common, borne by several persons. But these data must be considered. The activity of the three astrologers above considered, Ištar-šum-ereš, Marduk-šakin-šum, and Arad-Ea, we know to belong to the reign of Esar-haddon, B.C. 681–668. Much of their correspondence belongs to the latter part of the period, when the problem of succession is under consideration. Ištar-šum-ereš is the only one of the three who appears in the many hundred documents published by Johns, and he appears as a *rab-A-BA* in J. [444] K. 317, No. 11, J. [448] K. 1499, No. 11, and in J. [445] Bu. 91–5–9, 162. We may confidently identify him, by his association with Adad-šum-uṣur in the second letter, and with Marduk-šakin-šum in all three. The date of one tablet is lost; of the other two, uncertain; possibly as late

as B.C. 660. But here we have the man who calls himself, in his own letters, *rab-U-te* of Arbela, or *rab-U-te* of the *A-BA. meš*, styled by other scribes a *rab-A-BA*. An unknown *rab-A-BA* is mentioned in Johns [66]. The rarity of the title, amidst hundreds of witnesses and scores of *A-BA. meš*, points to high rank. Precedence points in the same direction. In the list of witnesses, Ištar-šum-ereš is preceded by the *bêl paḫati*, the *šalšu*, and the *ḫazanu*, and is followed by many others. Possibly this "Doctor of Letters" is the same man who is a *III-ḫu-si* in Johns [247]. Distinguished ability may have advanced him.

Marduk-šakin-šum appears in the three letters above cited as a *rab-Maš-Maš*. As plurals in the list of witnesses mentioned are carefully written, the absence of plural here indicates personal skill, not chief of a company. He has specialized in another direction, and has become a Doctor of *Mašmašutu*, though he ranks in the list below the *rab-A-BA*. Adad-šum-uṣur is a *rab-*(title broken).

We perhaps see also the rise of Nabu-šum-iddin. In B.C. 863 and 676, Johns [447] and [331], he is merely an *A-BA*. In B.C. 667, he is *A-BA* of the *bêl paḫati* of Dur Šarrukin, Johns [27]. But in *HABL* [816], he is *rab-U-te* of Nineveh. Ištar-nadin-apal, whom we have already seen was a *rab-U-te* later, appears merely as an *A-BA* in earlier documents of Johns; cf. [331]. Bani, in several earlier documents of Johns, is merely an *A-BA;* in B.C. 664 and 663 we find him the *šanu*, or assistant of the *rab-asu*, or chief physician [Johns 377, 470]. Recurring to Ištar-šum-ereš, we may note that in *HABL* [33] K. 572 he reports for the *A-BA. baruti, mašmaše, ase,* and *dagil iṣṣurate*—"seers, exorcisers, physicians, and Augurs"—he knew all their technical scribal lore. Arad-Gula, *rab-asu*, noted physician in the Esar-haddon epoch, is probably the *A-BA* of the time of Sennacherib.

Turning to King's *RMA*, we find that Ištar-šum-ereš is very prominent in these reports. No. 160 is sent by Šuma, a *dup-šar*. Nos. 81, 259 are sent by a *rab-dup-šar*. Nos. 109, 256 are sent by the *rab-A-BA:* thus five of these reports, besides those of Ištar-šum-ereš, come from "masters" of the art of writing. Comparing Marduk-šakin-šum's advance from *A-BA* to *Mašmašu*, we may observe also that four of the reports are from Bel-li-'i, a *mašmašu*

(83, 115 F, 183, 243); and one comes from a *rab-A-ZU*—recalling Aradgula's rise from *A-BA* to *rab-A-ZU*.

There seems then reason to believe that Assyrian professional education began with training in "the three R's," as understood then, and that when one had attained his *A-BA*, he might specialize as physician, grand scribe, *mašmašu, baru*, or become able even to read what was written in the heavens—a *rab-U-te*, or "Doctor of Letters." At any rate, advancement from the ranks of the *A-BA* is recognizable in the case of our very interesting friends. Perhaps we may read the official title *rab-dupšarrute* as fairly as *rab-šiṭirte*, but the latter corresponds to the usual phraseology about the heavens. The final significance is the same. (*Nakabu* is associated with *šaṭaru* and *dupšarrutu* in VR. 36, and *nakabiate ša dupšarruti*, "depressions, marks, or incisions of tablet-writing," are mentioned in some important ceremonies, *HABL* [437] K. 168; [629] K. 1263. But *rab-nakabiate* seems a less attractive reading.)

While we may hold it certain that various professions are specializations from a common primitive one, we may be less sure as to the point of departure. Tablet-writing and a priestly class seem originally associated. *Dub* and *šid* seem originally hardly distinguishable: the one is "tablet," the other "priest, compute, count, scribe, a number"; and the primitive picture seems a ruled tablet, with its writing tool. The *abarakku* (*amel ši-dub*) may be "one who reads tablets," but does not write them; a subdivision of the *A-BA*. The ideogram also means "sign, omen, portent," and an *abarakku*, as a reader of signs, omens, letters, or an interpreter of portents, would have a value as "assistant, aid" (*tukultu*), as distinct from the astrologer, or writer of tablets. Such a "reading secretary" would be far less useful in that capacity than one who wrote as well as read, and we find him seldom, the passages so far familiar giving little information. Some have connected this title with *abrek*, the salutation to Joseph. It may not be pressed. But we may remember that Joseph made his reputation as a reader of portents. At any rate, the ideogram for *abarakku* suggests "tablet reader" or under-secretary, while the name suggests a subdivision of the *A-BA*.

The associations of Ištar and Ištar *kakkabe* with this sign for "sky," "constellation," and "writing," in VR. 36 may be worth

noting. Her star Dilbat, II R. 37 *g, h*, VR. 39:42 *g* is *nabû*, "speaker, foreteller." Was this rapidly shifting star originally the foreteller κατ' ἐξοχήν of human destiny, writing the fates of men on the scroll of the sky? Is this planet the one specially observed or worshiped by the astrologers of Ištar of Arbela? Did they connect the name of the goddess with *šaṭaru*, "to write"?

As to the development of the *asu*, "physician," anthropological data show that such activity on the part of a priest or shaman is one of his oldest functions. Johns quotes Zimmern's conjecture that *A-ZU* is "water-knower." The conjecture is good, but Johns's speculation that examination of urine gave him his title does not seem attractive. I should infer that he had a knowledge of all healing waters. Sprinkling of pure or medicated waters belongs to the purification rites of nearly all peoples. Its prominence in the Old Testament is not unique. How to prepare and use the healing water is the secret of the physician, and if we find him, as in some Harper letters, reporting that the day is not propitious for the practice of his art, we may not be surprised at his connection occasionally with astrology.

In Assyrian temple rituals we find broth or soup described as *mê šeri*, "water of meat," which will help us understand how any liquid used by the physician was simply a "healing water." Turning to the texts published by Küchler, we find about 260 recipes, many too fragmentary for any connected sense. Some 250 plants are used: 31 green, others dry, apparently; suggesting that the physician or *ašipu* had a well-stocked apothecary shop. (Aššurbanipal calls these prescriptions "wisdom of the *ašipu*.") The significance of the texts for the present point lies in the use of the plants in liquids. Only half a dozen prescriptions include minerals other than salt; none include precious stones; only five or six specify waiting for certain stars, or the sun; none contain magic parts of animals; only four anything suggestive of fetish; nine have some incantation added. Several courses of treatment reach over several days; one, three months. There are no burning irons or repulsive messes or witches' broth; no taboos, no special days, months, ceremonies, etc. The whole idea is to impart the properties of the plants to liquids, and then use. Infusions, decoctions, tinctures, poultices, drenches, are the stock in

trade. Of these 35 per cent depend upon external application, of which 45 are fomentations and poultices (made in liquids), 25 are "drenches," poured over the patient; 97 of the prescriptions put the herbs in some alcoholic drink; 13 in honey; 7 in milk; 22 in oil; 26 in water or are prescribed as "drunk"; 5 appear as ointments or lotions; 5 are to be cooked. Thus the dominance of liquid in the practice of the physician is marked. Add that Ea is patron of ancient medicine, and his temple at Eridu was known as the "house of holy baptisms," or cleansings. Zimmern's conjecture that the physician was a "knower of waters" has much to commend it. The writer of Rev. 22:1, 2 probably thought of the leaves of the tree as used in the water of life, for healing purposes.

It is but fair, however, to remark that *A-ZU* might be read "son of wisdom." Compare English "wizard," "witch," and the French *sage femme* "midwife"; "the wise ones" in various African tribes; the fact that every Frank is a physician, *ḥakim*, or "wise one," to the superstitious Arab of today. And the "wise men" of Babylonia in the Old Testament might really be "the physicians."

STUDIES IN RELIGIOUS TEXTS FROM ASSUR

By John A. Maynard
General Theological Seminary

INTRODUCTION

The first series of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* was published in 1915 by Erich Ebeling. Some of the texts there reproduced are duplicates of texts already published, and it is therefore unlikely that a translation of the whole volume will be given by the editor. We give here a series of studies bearing mainly on Nos. 12–18 and 41, namely, liturgical texts connected with NIN-IB and his consort Gula. To these has been added a study on text No. 1, dealing with Ishtar.

The interest of the new Assur texts is threefold: first, they shed light on Assyro-Babylonian philology; secondly, they give us some knowledge of Babylonian literary methods; thirdly, they tell us of religious practices and beliefs.

Philological discussions will be found in the notes. We shall, however, mention here an important point raised by the Assur texts. The question of a Sumerian origin of the word Sheol is opened by the occurrence of two new divine names in Ebeling, No. 49, II, 5–7:

5 *niš* *ᵈen-zu-ul-la* 6 *ᵈnin-zu-ul-la* 7 *ša iršit la tari.*

"The invocation of the Lord of Zul and of the Lady of Zul, namely, of the Land of No-Return."

From these epithets of Nergal and Ereshkigal we infer that Zul = "Land of No-Return," i.e., the abode of the departed, Sheol. The name Sheol has in Hebrew a foreign appearance. Some have already supposed a primitive form Shul. The change from *zul* to *sul* and then to *šul* is easily accounted for. As for the proper meaning of *Zul*, it remains doubtful. Perhaps it means "the distant country," either as a compound of *ul*, to be far away, or a by-form of *sud*, distant. A common name for ghost was *idim* (which became *edimmu, eṭimmu* in Semitic), i.e., a remote one. The departed were so called in order to avoid bad luck and to ward off the presence of

ghosts. Cf. Gilgamesh Epic. X, v, 24; XI, 1, 214, 274. The same custom is found among the Arabs. One may conceive easily that a similar idea should underlie the name of the abode of departed spirits.

Another point is of great importance, not only because of its intrinsic value for Assyro-Babylonian literature, but also because of its bearing upon the textual criticism of the Old Testament, where methods sometimes strike one as somewhat arbitrary. The Masoretic text gives only one archetype and that not very ancient, and the testimony of the versions is often of doubtful value. If canons of Old Testament criticism can be shown to apply to Babylonian literary documents, this will be a strong argument in their favor. In our treating of the fragments of the epics *Lugal-ud* and *Ana-dim* we shall show that there was a Northern and a Southern text with several local recensions. Until more texts are published, and until Sumerian is better known, we can only call attention to what might be done in that direction.

The scribe who copied the Assur text of Ishtar's descent into hell has written out long vowels in several places to show the place of the metrical tone (cf. Meissner, *OLZ*, XVIII, 332). We may suppose that the story of Ishtar's search for Tammuz was cantillated on the festival of that god. In Assyrian, as in Hebrew, the rhythm was dependent upon the number of beats, and we cannot discover hard-and-fast rules as to the intervals between the beats. While the Ninib epics were preserved in Sumerian, the Legend of Ishtar was freely rendered into Semitic. Later the texts of the former were accompanied by an interlinear translation. Metrical versions became independent of the Sumerian prototype and developed on their own lines. They were not used in liturgical services or in other priestly functions, but were apparently a semi-profane literature used by rhapsodists rather than by priests.

A curious instance of a complicated use of Sumerian texts is found in text No. 4 (pp. 6–8), which is a duplicate of K. 4175+Sm. 57 (*PSBA*, X, 418 ff.). The first column of Ebeling's text (corresponding to the first two columns of K. 4175+Sm. 57) gives a series of usually meaningless sounds. Meissner has suggested (*OLZ*, XVIII, 333) that they may be musical notations. We cannot accept this

opinion, for the following reasons: First, because at the top of the tablet the sounds are very simple, while at the end they have considerably expanded. Secondly, while these meaningless sounds are in one column in Ebeling, No. 4, they are separated into two columns in K. 4175. One does not see why it should be so with musical notations. Thirdly, we can give a translation of a few of these sounds, and there is nothing musical about that meaning. It is difficult to see musical notes in *sak-kud* ("beheading"?) obv. 34; *sag-kur sag-kur-ta* ("mountain-top," "on the top of the mountain") ob. 37–38; *sag-dingir sag* ^{d}*TUG sag-mu* ("the head of a god," "the head of the god Tug is my head") obv. 35–36; or the divine names ^{d}*Kuš* ^{d}*Kuš-Kuš* rev. 5; ^{d}*alad* ^{d}*lama* rev. 6; ^{d}*Ka* rev. 1–2; ^{d}*Nidaba* ^{d}*Nidaba*, K. 4175+Sm. 57 rev. 19/20.

One might suppose that these mysterious sounds are analogous to the Stobhāksharas used in the cantillation of the Sama-Veda. These were the object of speculation as early as the Chandogya-Upanishad (*Sacred Books of the East*, I, 22, 26–28) and have assumed a great importance in the Tantras. To these Tantric ejaculatory spells we would compare, not only the spells scattered through the hymns published by Reisner (*SBH*, p. xvi), but even more developed secret formulas in Sumerian (Sm. 504, Bezold, *Catal.*, IV, 1413; cf. Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.*, p. 478), or in Assyrian IV R², 55, 26, 27*a* = Sm. 1301, III 10 ff. (Bezold, *Catal.*, IV, 1477; cf. D. W. Myhrman, *ZA*, XVI, 188–89), or the curious incantation against blindness in the Babylonian Talmud (Aboda Zara 12*b*), or the magical sentences in Egyptian Hellenistic papyri, or the meaningless spells used frequently in modern Moslem charms.

Professor John Dyneley Prince suggests to me the very plausible theory that, while one or two priests recited this story of the creation in a kind of monotone, one or two other cantors hummed the mystical spells an octave lower, accompanying, as it were, the Scripture lesson. Professor Prince has witnessed such a performance by American Indian medicine-men.

Finally, the new Assur texts refer to a few hitherto unnoticed religious practices and even to some features recalling the mystery-religions. To these we call attention in the notes. The study of Babylonian religion is still in its infancy. Much has been written

and a great deal has been discovered about divination and purificatory rites; very little indeed is known of the larger outlook in religion and of the Babylonian theology. The time has not come as yet for a study of Babylonian religion as scientific as Farnell's *The Cults of the Greek States*. Many more texts will have to be collated, published, translated, or retranslated, and, until this is thoroughly done, philologists only can deal with the subject of Babylonian religion and civilization, quite aware that their work has little more than a provisional value.

I. A NEW RECENSION OF ISHTAR'S DESCENT INTO HELL
(Ebeling, No. 1, pp. 1–4)

The Assur text differs in many particulars from the well-known text *CT*, XV, 45–48 (IV R², 31) and allows us to complete it in several places. Part of the Sumerian original was published by Poebel in his *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (*UMBS*, V, No. 23) and translated by Langdon (*PSBA*, XXXVIII, 55–57). The Nippur recension differs very much from our Semitic versions from Assur and Nineveh. We shall designate the Sumerian text from Nippur by the symbol S^N and the Northern versions respectively as N^A (Assur text) and N^N (Ninevite text, *CT*, XV, 45–48). N^A is of course older than N^N; it has preserved in several places Sumerian loanwords and is probably nearer to a Sumerian original than N^N, but it would be useless to suppose a Sumerian text underlying N^A and N^N, because the latter were very free adaptations of the original story. A few lines of the beginning of N^A are broken off and the text begins with a syllable belonging to the fourth line of N^N (restored).

<div align="center">OBVERSE</div>

1 [*ana bit eṭi-e šubat* ^{il}*Ir*]-*kal-*[*la* 2 *ana biti ša e*]-*ri-bu-šu la-a a-ṣu-u* 3 [*ana ḫarrani ša a*]-*lak-*[*ta-ša*] *la-a ti-ia-a-*[*rat*] 4 [*ašar ša*] *a-kal-*[*ši*]-*i-na ṭi-iṭ-*[*ṭi* 5 *nuru ul im*]-*ma-ra i-na e-ṭu-ti aš-b*[*u* 6 *labšuma*] *ki-ma iṣṣurē ṣu-ba-at a-kap-pi* 7 [*eli*] ^{il}*dalti u sik-ku-ri i-ša-pu-uḫ epirē* 8 ^{il}*Ištar šu-mur-ra-a-tu tab-ka-at* 9 *ana bab irṣit la tari i-na ka-ša-di-i-ša* 10 ^{il}*Ištar pi-i-ša ip-pu-u-šu i-qab-bi* 11 *a-na atū ša babi a-ma-a-tam izakkar* 12 *atū me-e pi-i-ta-a babam* 13 *pi-ta-a babam-ma a-na-ku lu-ru-ub*

14 [šu]-um-ma la-a ta-pa-ta-a ba-a-ba-am 15 a-ma-ḫaṣ si-ip-pa
uš-ba-lak-ka-ta ⁱᵗdalate 16 a-šab-bir giš-ri-na-am-ma a-ša- . . .
ar-ra 17 [el]-lu-u-ni mituti-ma ik-kal-[lu-ni ba]l-ṭu-[ṭ]i 18 el [mi]-
tu-te i-ma-'-du [bal-ṭu-te](?) 19 ᵃᵐᵉˡatū pi-i-šu ip-pu-šu i-qa[b-b]i
20 iz-za-qa-ra a-na ilat ba-la-ṭe . . . ⁱˡI[št]ar 21 i-ziz-zi belti
la-a [tanadî] ša [babi?] 22 kir-bi-iš qa-'-i daltu(?) . . . 23 zi-
kir-ki lu-ša-na-a [ana šarrati ⁱˡEreškigal] 24 e-ru-ub atū iq-ta-bi
[ana ⁱˡEreškigal] 25 an-nu-u a-ḫa-at-ki ⁱˡIštar . . . i-na . . .
26 mu-ki-il-tu ša kip-pi-[e] rabuti 27 da-li-ḫa-at ap-si-i ma-ḫar
ⁱˡE-a . . . 28 ⁱˡEreš-ki-gal an-ni-ta i-na ša-mi-ša 29 ki-i ni-ki-iš
bi-i-ni e-ri-qu pa-nu-ša 30 ki-ma ša-ba-at ku-ni-i-ni iṣ-li-ma ša-ba-
tu-š[a] 31 mi-i-na-a lib-ba-ša ub-la-an-ni-[ma] 32 mi-i-na ka-
[ab-ta]-ša-ma uš-pir-da-an-ni-ma 33 [an]-nu-u a-na-ku it-ti ⁱˡA-nun-
na-ki mê a-šat-ti 34 [ki-ma] aklē e-ka-la ṭi-iṭ-ṭa 35 [ki-m]a
šikare a-šat-ta-a mê dal-ḫu-te. 36 [lu-ub-ki] i-na muḫḫi idle ša
uz-zu-bu ḫi-ri-ti 37 [lub]-ki i-na muḫḫi ardate ša ana utli ḫa-mi-
ri-ši-na šal-lu-[u] 38 [lubki ana ṣiḫ]-ri la-a-'a ša ina la-a u-mi-šu
ṭar-du 39 [alik] ᵃᵐᵉˡatû pi-ta-aš-ši babam 40 [uppišma] ki-ma
par-ṣi-ka la-a-be-ru-ti 41 [illik ᵃᵐᵉˡatū] ip-ta-aš-še babam 42 [irbi
be]l-ti Ku-tu-u li-riš-ki 43 [ekallu irṣit la tari liḫdu] a-na pa-ni-ka
. . . . 44 [išten] babu [ušeribšima] . . .

1 [guddud] ap-pa-šu [panuša arpu 2 karru] lab-biš ma-li-[e
naši(?) 3 illik] ⁱˡPap-sukkal ana pan [ⁱˡSin abišu 4 ina pan ⁱˡ]-
Ea il-la-ka [dima-šu 5 ⁱˡIštar] a-na irṣiti u-ri-du [ul ilā] 6 ⁱˡEa
i-na im-qi lib-bi-šu a- . . . 7 [ib-ni-m]a. Aṣ-na-me-ir ku-lu-'
8 [al-ka] Aṣ-na-me-ir a-na bab irṣiti la tari šu-kun pa-[ni-ka] 9 VII
babani irṣit la tari lip-pa-tu-u a-na ka-a-ša 10 ⁱˡEreš-ki-gal li-mur-
ka-ma ana pani-ka li-pir-du 11 [ultu] lib-bu-šu im-mir-šu ka-bit-
ta-šu ip-pir-du 12 [tum]-me-šu-ma ni-eš ilani rabuti 13 . . . ba-
a-na-at . . . šaturru(?) . . . 14 [šu]-qi ri-ši-ka-ma uz-na šu-kun
ana ḫal-zi-ik-ki 15 ma-a-e(?) bel-ti ḫal-zi-ik-ki lid-nu-ni-ma mê
i-na lib-bi lal-ta-ti 16 ⁱˡEreš-ki-gal an-ni-ta i-na ša-mi-ša 17 im-
ḫa-aṣ pi-en-ša it-ta-ša-ak u-ba-an-ša 18 te-tar-[š]a-ni-ma Aṣ-na-
me-ir e-riš-ta ša la e-ri-še 19 al-kam Aṣ-na-me-ir šim-ti la ma-še-e
lu-šim-ka 20 lu(?)-šim-ka-ma šim-ti la ma-še-e ana ṣa-a-ti 21

. . . *e-pi-id ali lu-u kurummat-ka* 22 [*ḫ*]*a-ba-na-at ali lu-u mal-ti-it-ka* 23 [*ṣil*]-*lu duri lu-u ma-za-zu-ka* 24 *ak-su-pa-tu lu-u mu-ša-ba-ka* 25 *ilEreš-ki-gal pi-i-šu ip-pu-šu i-qab-bi* 26 *izaqqar-ra ana ilNam-tar sukkal-ša* 27 *a-lik ilNam-tar e-kal-la ma-ḫaṣ di-li-gi-na* 28 *ak-su-pa-te zu-'-in ia-e-ri-te* 29 *ilA-nun-na-ki šu-ṣa-ma i-na kussi ḫurasi šu-šib* 30 *ilIštar me balaṭi su-ul-li-'-ši-ma li-*[*qašši*] 31 *il-lik ilNam-tar ekalla im-ta-ḫaṣ di-li-gi-na* 32 *ak-su-pa-ti u-za-in ia-e-ri-te* 33 *ilA-nun-na-ki u-še-ṣa-ma i-na kussi ḫuraṣi u-še-šib* 34 *ilIštar me balaṭi is-lu-'-ši-ma*[*il*]-*qa-ši ana pani-ša.*

TRANSLATION

Obv. (Ishtar set to go) 1 to the abode of darkness, the dwelling-place of Irkalla, 2 to the house from which he who enters does not go out, 3 to the road on which there is no turning back, 4 a place where their food is clay, 5 (where) they do not see light, (where) they dwell in darkness 6 clothed like birds with a winged dress, 7 where dust is spread on door and bolt. 8 When Ishtar pouring wrath, reached the gate of the land of no-return, 10 Ishtar opened her mouth and spoke; 11 to the gate-keeper she addressed her speech, 12 O thou keeper, open the gate, 13 open the gate that I may enter. 14 If thou dost not open the gate, 15 I shall shatter the threshold, I shall tear off the doors, 16 I shall break the lintel(?) I shall . . the . . . 17 The dead shall come up, they shall devour the living, 18 the (dead) shall outnumber (the living). 19 The keeper opened his mouth and spoke, 20 he invoked the goddess of life(?) . . . Ishtar, 21 Stay, Lady, do not overthrow (the gate). 22 Wait here . . . at the door(?) . . . . 23 while I am announcing thy name to Queen Ereshkigal. 24 The keeper went in and spoke of Eresh-kigal, 25 This is thy sister Ishtar . . . in . . . 26 she who supports the great festal(?) chambers, 27 she who stirs up the deep before Ea . . . 28 When Ereshkigal heard these things, 29 as a branch of tamarisk, her face became green, 30 as the edge(?) of a reed-bowl(?) her lips became black, 31 (she said) Why has her heart brought her to me, 32 why did her mind move her to come to me with joy? 33 This one . . . I shall drink water with the Anunnaki, 34 for food I shall eat mud, 35 for beverage I shall drink troubled water. 36 Let me wail for the men who forsake (their) wife, 37 let me wail for the young women plucked away from the bosom of their husband, 38 let me wail for the weak child driven away before the time. 39 Go, keeper, open the gate to her, 40 deal with her according to thy ancient customs. 41 The watchman went and opened to her the gate, 42 Enter, Lady, may Kutha greet thee 43 may the palace of the land of no-return rejoice at thy presence . . . . 44 The first door, he made her enter . . . .

Rev. . . . 1 his countenance fell, his face darkened 2 he was clad in mourning, wearing(?) foul garments. 3 Papsukkal went into the presence of Sin his father 4 (and) before Ea, his tears came running down, 5 Ishtar has gone down to the earth, she does not come up. 6 Ea, in the depth of his heart . . . 7 created Aznamer, the sodomite (and said), 8 Go, Aznamer, set thy face toward the gate of the land of no-return; 9 let the seven gates of the land of no-return be opened to thee. 10 May Ereshkigal behold thee and rejoice before thee; 11 when her mind is brightened and her heart joyful, 12 conjure her by the oath of the great gods 13 . . . She who creates . . . a dragon(?) . . . 14 lift up thy head, mark well the receptacle of the water of life(?) 15 (and say), O Lady, let one give me the receptacle of the water of life that I may drink water from it. 15 When Ereshkigal heard this 17 she smote her thigh, she bit her finger (and said), 18 Thou hast expressed to me, Aznamer, a desire that may not be expressed. 19 Go, Aznamer, I shall put upon thee a spell that cannot be forgotten, 20 I shall put upon thee a curse that cannot ever be forgotten, 21 may the mud(?) of the city be thy food, 22 may the sewers of the city be the place where thou drinkest, 23 may the shadow of a wall be the place where thou shalt have to stand, 24 may a threshold be thy dwelling-place! 25 Ereshkigal opened her mouth and spoke, 26 she called Namtar her messenger, 27 Go, Namtar, to the palace, smite the door-frame(?), 28 shatter the threshold of eru-stone, 29 bring out the Anunnaki, make them sit on a golden throne. 30 (As for) Ishtar, sprinkle upon her the waters of life and take charge of her. 31 Namtar went to the palace, he smote the door-frame(?), 32 he shattered the threshold of eru-stone, 33 he brought out the Anunnaki, made them sit upon a golden throne; 34 (as for) Ishtar, he sprinkled her with the water of life and took her before Ereshkigal.

NOTES

Obv. 4. *a-kal-[ši]-i-na* N^N *a-kal-šu-nu.*

5. *[im]-ma-ra* N^N *im-ma-ru.*

6. *a-kap-pi* N^N *kap-[pi].* We find in Aramaic both אַנְף and נְפָא .

11. *NI-GAB* (=*atū*, SAI, 3682) probably to be read *ni-du* (*dù* = *paṭaru*, Delitzsch, S. Gl., 142). Cf. CT, XVI, 13, 49; King's *Magic*, Nos. 53, 20, 21.—*a-ma-a-tam;* Text *a-ta-tam.*

16. *giš-ri-na-am-ma*, loan-word from Sumerian. Cf. M–A. 234b.

17. The dead would return to earth as fever-spirits.

18. N^N *eli bal-ṭu-ti i-ma-'-du mi-tu-ti.* The scribe of N^A wrote one word for another.

21. *la-a [ta-na-di] ša [ba-bi](?)* N^N *la ta-na-da-aš-ši.*

22. *kirbiš* = *ina kirbi*, there.—*qa-'-i* (text *qa-'-TUR*) from *qa'u*, "to wait." Imv. II, 1.

26. *mukiltu*(N^N, obv. 27, *nu(?)-kil-tu*) is the fem. of *mukil* (from *kālu*).—
kip-pi-e (text *kip-pi-ia*).

35. *dalḫute* ("troubled") (from *dalaḫu*) or *riḫute* ("of gutters").

37. *šal-lu-u* (text *šal-lu pa-ni*)—"bosom," euphemistic.

38. I.e., ruthlessly weaned by his mother. Ishtar being absent from
the earth, not only has the desire for offspring died away, but the
milk of nursing mothers has dried up.

The second half of the obverse has perished, with the exception of a few
characters. The story as preserved in N^N (and partly in S^N) tells how
Ishtar entered the seven gates of the lower regions and describes the conse-
quences of her absence from earth. We now hear how Papsukkal (not
Shamash, as N^N has it), the messenger of the gods, wore mourning for his
sister Ishtar. Unhappily there has been an error in the numbering of the
lines in Ebeling's text, the sixth line of the reverse being called line 5 by
the printer, and the mistake being carried throughout. We have restored
the proper numbering.

Rev. 4. *dimašu*. Cf. Weber, *OLZ*, X, 8.

7. Aznamer's name is given in N^N as *E-šu-na-mer*, which may be read
aṣu-šu-na-mer, "his rising is brilliant." Since Marduk is called
Asar-nam-ru, as first-born son of Ea (*CT*, XXIV, 15, 67 = IIR 55,
67c = Br. 927), one might take both *Aznamer* and *aṣušunamer* as
variants (or punning etymologies) of that divine name *Asarnamru*.
But it is difficult to imagine Marduk as a divine minion and as
having been accursed like the unlucky Aznamer. *ku-lu-'* N^N
as-sin-nu. *kulu'u* is a synonym. In Ebeling's text No. 43, obv. 3,
it occurs in conjunction with *ḫa-rim-tu*, "prostitute." Cf. also
Boissier, *PSBA*, 1901, p. 120/122, 20; Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal
Names*, 117, *s.v.* Kulu-Ištar. Thus *kulu'* is evidently, like *assinnu*,
a Sodomite, who probably was also the court-jester of the Babylonian
Olympus.

10. *li-pir-du* N^N *li-iḫ-du*.

11. *immiršu* IV, 1 from *namaru*. N^N *inuḫḫu*.

12. *ni-eš* N^N *MU;* this variant proves that *MU* = *niš*.

13. Not clear. The two last signs are probably the group Br. 8011 =
šaturru = *šasurru*, a kind of "dragon." Cf. Jensen on *bašmu* in *KB*,
VI, 1, 309.

14. *ḫalzikki;* N^N $^{maš ak}$*ḫal-zi-qi;* probably a skin-bottle containing water
similar to that of the fountain of youth; *ḫalziqqu* may be explained
as a compound of *ḫal*, "strength" (= חיל, which becomes *ḫal* in
Assyrian, as we see in the word *bît-ḫallu*), and *ziqqu*, "skin-bottle"
(Aramaic זִקָּא).

17. *pênu* is a word otherwise unknown, meaning evidently "private parts," "thigh." N^N *UR* (=*sunu*). In this line, as in obv. 10, rev. 11, 26, the use of both genders for Ereshkigal is remarkable.

21. *e-pi-id(ṭ)*. N^N, rev. 24, *NIG* ^gis^*APIN;* perhaps *e-pi-id* is a scribal error for *e-pi-in*. (Cf. *epinnu*, "irrigated field"; M-A. 80a.) *APIN* is perhaps the same as the Hebrew אוֹפָן, "wheel." ^gis^*APIN* = *narṭabu*, "watering-wheel." *NIG* (or *NINDA*)-^gis^*APIN* would be "mud." *kurummat(at)-ka;* N^N *a-kal-ka*.

23. *ma-za-zu;* N^N *man-za-zu*. Note the assimilated form.

24. *ak-su-pa-tu* usually *az-k(g)up-pa-tu*. Note the transposition of *k* and *s(z)*.

27. *e-kal-la* here for *ki-gal-la*. Ereshkigal is also called *Ereš-e-gal-la*. Cf. Pinches, *Hymns to Tammuz*, Manchester Memoirs, 47, No. 25, pp. 6–9.—*diligina*, Sumerian loan-word (cf. *dilim* = *itgurtu*, *SAI*, 5732), probably related to ^gis^*dili-rin* = *itgurtu gišrinni* (Delitzsch *SGl.*, 178).

28. *ia-e-ri-te;* N^N ^aban^[*PA*]-*MEŠ*. Possibly *ia-e-ru* is a by-form of *eru*, or is a part of a building. Cf. *BA, II*, 635. Strong's reading *ia-e-rak* given there is of course to be rejected. Cf. Martin, *Textes religieux*, I, 102, 9.

30. *su-ul-li-'-ši-ma* (cf. 34, *is-lu-'-ši-ma*) from *salaḫu;* ḫ softened to '.

34. Namtar brings Ishtar back to life and youth by restoring to her body its lost moisture. Cf. for a similar belief A. M. Blackman, *ZAES*, XLIX, 69–75.

The end of the tablet is badly damaged. We note, however, that in N^N, rev. 48, we must read *ip-ši-iš*, "anoint," instead of *rum-mi-ik*, as had been generally supposed.

II. BABYLONIAN PRAYERS TO THE GOD URDA (ANUŠAT) (NIN-IB)

The true reading of the ideograph ^d^*NIN-IB* was unknown until lately. The discussion was reopened in 1904, when Professor Clay found the name written in Aramaic as אנושת (cf. *BE*, X, p. xviii), which we would vocalize *Anušat*. Cf. Pognon, *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, 1, p. 411; Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XI, 81. For other readings cf. Clay, *Amurru*, p. 196, and *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, I, 97; Langdon, *Babyl. Liturgies*, p. 147 n. We prefer the form *Anušat* because it is more simple and also because it may be explained etymologically as *Anu-šad(i)*, "the *Anu* of the mountains," "the mountain-god." Cf. *kur-da-ri*, "eternal mountain," a title of Ninib. Cf. Radau, *BE*, XXIX, 1, p. 73, and the many references to Ninib's

mighty deeds in the mountains in the texts studied here. Perhaps *Anušat* stands for *Anu-išati*, "the *Anu* of fire," but this is less likely.

The Sumerian reading of *NIN-IB* has been given in the Yale syllabary published by Professor Clay (*Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 53, l. 288):

Ur-ta, u-ra-šu, ša ᵈNIN-IB šu-ma.

Dr. Clay (*op. cit.*, pp. 97–99) discusses at length this value. Jensen had already guessed a reading *Namurtu.* Cf. *Gilgamesh-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, p. 87; *KB*, VI, 2, p. 12. *Namurtu* would clearly be a Semiticized form of the Sumerian *Nam-urta*, namely, *Urta*-ship. *Uraš* is the name of the sign *IB; urta* its true reading when it occurs in the name of the god. In one of the texts studied here (Ebeling No. 12, p. 11), we find the reading ᵈ*Ur-ru-da.* It being assumed that the text given by Ebeling is correct, the name of the god *NIN-IB* ought to be given as *Uruda* or *Urda* in the Babylonian dialect. The Assyrian would probably have pronounced it *Urta.* We cannot tell whether *Urda* goes back to a more primitive (*W*)*Murda* and whether there is any connection with the biblical Nimrod (although the latter might be derived from *Nin-murda*, the Lord Murda). If such is the case, the epics *Lugal ud melam-bi nir-gal* and *Ana-dim-dim-ma* would indeed deserve the name of Nimrod-Epos given a generation ago to the Gilgamesh Epic. One might even consider the possibility that the same hero Urda, or Nimrod, be identical with the mythical Ninos and that Urda is a deified mortal.

In favor of the reading *Nin-ib* there are few definite arguments. In Assurbanapal, Rassam Cyl. I[105], the name of an Egyptian prince is given as *Bu-kur-ni-ni-ib*, an apparently good Semitic name, but it stands for the Egyptian *Buk(k)unrînip* (Ranke, *Keilschr. Material zur aegypt. Vokal.*, 1910). For a previous reading *Bknrnf* (prob. *Bekneranef*), cf. Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, 592; Steindorff, *BA*, I, 353. One might argue, however, that the Semitic scribe who wrote the annals made a wrong etymology of this purely Egyptian name and interpreted it as "the first born of Ninib." Against this hypothesis one may say that the determinative for "god" ought in that case to have been prefixed to *Ni-ni-ip.*

Professor C. H. Lager, who is working on Sumerian business documents in the library of Colgate University, informs me that he

has found in Colgate, No. 45, line 14, the divine name *ᵈNu-ni-ib*.   In
addition to that we find in Ebeling's text No. 31, obv. 9, 10, a reference
to the god *ᵈUd-GIŠGAL-lu* (a name that we would read *Udgallu*)
ur-sag dingir-ri-e-ne-ge, which the Semitic scribe translates as *ᵈL-IB*
(that is to be read *ᵈNinnu-ib*) *qarrad ilani*.   The reference is evi-
dently to Ninib.   It seems, therefore, that in spite of Clay's discovery
the reading Ninib cannot be altogether set aside.   We believe,
however, that, like *Nin-girsu* (Lord of Girsu), it had primarily a
local value (Lord of IB) and that the form *Urda* is better.

   The hypothesis has been made that the priests of Babylon, who
have given us our version of the creation-story, substituted the name
of Marduk for that of Ellil in a more primitive form of the legend.
This view is only partially true; the hero of the early form of the
flood story was Urda, the mountain-god, whose mighty deeds were
later ascribed to Marduk.   The language of *Ana-dim-dim-ma*,
Tablet II, implies the existence of an independent, if not an earlier,
version of the fight of the son of Ellil against Chaos, when his weapon
was the *abubu*, the flood of light.   At the time when the epic *Ana-dim*
was written, the god Ninib had become entirely astral, and therefore
we are at present unable to discover the earliest form of the legend.

A. THE EPIC LUGAL-E UD MELAM-BI NIRGAL

   This epic, so called from its opening lines, was written in praise
of the divine hero Ninib.   Beginning with the tenth tablet, we find
a series of oracles connected with various stones, not necessarily
precious.   These stones represent foreign countries subjugated by
Ninib.   This appears from the catch-line of K. 4814, "god-like may
he call the land by its name."   The dolerite stone (Tablet XI, 2d
stone, *ⁿᵈesi = ᵃᵇⁿᵘušu*) stands probably for the country of Magan,
whence it was brought to Sumer.   The *KA-gi-na* stone was found
in the lands of Nairi (Tigl. Pil. VIII, 12) and may represent them
(Tablet XI, 5th stone, *ⁿᵈKA-gi-na = ᵃᵇⁿᵘšadanu*).[1]

   Fragments of the epic *Lugal-e* have been edited by Pinches (IV R²,
13 No. 1, 23 No. 2.), Haupt (*ASKT*, No. 10, pp. 79–81), Hrozný
("Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag," *MVAG*, 1903, No. 5, Taf. XI–
XIII), Radau (*Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to Ninib, BE*, XXIX,

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[1] The *šadanu*-stone is perhaps the rock-crystal.   Cf. G. Boson (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, VII, 411–12).

Nos. 6–8), Meek (*BA*, X, 1, 110–11), Langdon (*Historical and Religious Texts*, *BE*, XXXI, Pls. 9, 10).   Possibly we ought to include A.O. 4135 (published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XI, 82) and K. 5124 (edited by Macmillan, *BA*, V, 709, and wrongly described by him, p. 603, as a Marduk text).   Other texts are still unpublished, namely Sm. 769 (with the exception of lines 9 and 10 published by Strassmaier, *AV*, pp. 734, 739; cf. Bezold, *Catal.*, 1434), Th. 1905–4–9, 394 (cf. L. W. King, *Catal.*, Supplement No. 765), and Bab. J. 5326 (cf. Meissner, *Assyr. Studien*, II, 57; *MVAG*, IX, 237).   Until these texts have been made accessible, a thorough textual critical study of the Ninib epics would be premature.   And yet we may at present formally distinguish a Southern and a Northern text.   The texts studied by Hrozný were Northern, with the exception of the twelfth tablet of *Lugal-e*.   Ebeling's texts are also Northern, but were written at an earlier date.   The texts from Nippur are of course of the Southern type.   We classify our texts as follows:

SN   Southern Text, Nippur (Radau, Langdon).
SB   Southern Text, Babylon, VATh. 251 (Abel-Winckler), Bab. J. 5326.
NA   Northern Text, Assur (Ebeling).
NN   Northern Text, Nineveh (Pinches, Haupt, Hrozný, Meek; Sm. 769).

TABLE I

TABLET	TEXTS			
	SN	SB	NA	NN
1......	....	Bab. J. 5326	Eb. 13, obv. I, 1–13	K. 133 (*ASKT*, 79–81)
2......	....	....	Eb. 13, obv. I, 14–17	K. 4827 (Hr., Taf. XI)
3......	....	....	Eb. 17; 13, II, 14–17(?)	....
4......	....	....		K. 2863 (4 R² 23 No. 2)
5......	....	....	Eb. 13, rev.(?)	80–7–19, 127 (*BA*, X, 1, 110–111)
6......	Rad. 6, obv. I(?)	....	....	....
7......	Rad. 6, obv. II(?)			
9......	Rad. 6, rev. I		Eb. 14, I	K. 2871–81–2–4, 396 (Hr., Taf. XIII)
10.....	Rad. 6, rev. II; 8, I	....	Eb. 14, II	
11.....	Rad. 6, III; 7; 8, II	....	Eb. 14, III	4R² 13 No. 1
12.....	Rad. 8, III	VATh. 251 (Abel-Winckler 60–61)	Eb. 14, IV	Sm. 769
13.....	Rad. 8, IV	....	....	....
Unclassified.	Const. Nl. 2375, 19 (Langdon, Pls. 9, 10)			K. 4814 (Hr., Taf. XII)

The First Tablet
(Ebeling, No. 13, p. 17; obv.)

For other parts of that tablet, cf. K. 133 (*ASKT*, No. 10, pp. 79–81; Hrozný, pp. 40–43) and note on Bab. J. 5326 by Meissner in *Assyriol. Studien*, II, 57 (*MVAG*, IX, 237). The obverse is given as *Rückseite* by Ebeling, but wrongly (Meissner, *OLZ*, XVIII, 334).

OBVERSE

2   *á-bi uru-bi dingir-[ri-e-ne* . . .

3   *a-na i-di-šu ilani ša ali* . . .

4   *lugal-mu ur-[ri] bar-bi ri-a* . . .

5   *beli šu-u pa-rak-ka ra-mi-[i(?)* . . . .

6   *ᵈUrta (NIN-IB) en-za-dim kalam-ma di-[kud* . . .

7   *ⁱˡAnušat (NIN-IB) belu ki-ma-ka ta-di-in [mata* . . .

8   *azag me-lam-ma-bi a-ba šu-mi-ni-* . . .

9   *a-sak-ka me-lam-mi-šu ma-an-nu* . . . .

10   *sag-ki-bi gal-la a-ba ib-ta-aṇ-[ma]*

11   *ana bune-šu rabûti man-nu i-'-[ir-ra]*

12   *su-im-sig-sig ní sa-bé-[uš(?)-uš(?)]*

13   *uš-na-raṭ pu-luḫ-ta-šu zu-um-ra u-ša-ḫa-aḫ*

14   *im-gid-da I-kam-ma Lugal-e ud-melam-bi nir-gal*

15   *šu-nigin   45   mu-bi-im*

TRANSLATION

2/3 On his side, the gods of the city . . .   4/5 O my Lord, he who dwelleth in his sanctuary . . .   6/7 O Lord Ninib who like unto thee judgeth the land   8/9 Who can withstand(?) the terror of his glorious appearance.   10/11 Who can raise himself up to his magnificent countenance   12/13 the fear of him causes one to stand motionless, it crushes the body.   14 First "long tablet" of *Lugal-e ud-melam-bi nirgal*.   15 Altogether 45 lines.

NOTES

4. ur (Langdon, *Sum. Gr.*, p. 109) rather than the conjectural *ĝar* (Delitzsch, *SGr.*, p. 35); *ur-ri* Text *ur-laĝ*.

10/11. Completed after *SAI*, 2333, and Hrozný, *Ninrag*, p. 12/13, 10.

12/13. *sig . . . sig = šaḫaḫu; ušnaraṭ*, III, 2, from *naraṭu; uš-uš* is doubtful.

The Second Tablet
(No. 13, p. 17)

A few lines of the second "tablet" are given by the same No. 13. The end of the second tablet is given by K. 4827 (Hrozný, Taf. XI, pp. 22–23).

<div align="center">TEXT</div>

16 *igi-bi ki-bi-šu ba-ni-in-gar*

17 *pa-ni-šu a-na aš-ri šu-a-tu iš-ta-ka-an*

<div align="center">TRANSLATION</div>

16/17   He sets his face toward that place.

<div align="center">*The Third Tablet*</div>

Ebeling, No. 17, p. 31; No. 13, II, 14–17, gives a duplicate of the first signs of lines 5–8 in No. 17 obv.

<div align="center">TEXT</div>

<div align="center">OBVERSE</div>

1 *[a-ma-ru e]-ta ê' mê šu gir-[im-ma-ab-gal-la*

2 *[a]-ma-ru e-ta ê' [a-na] ta-ḫa-zi i-[kabbas(?)]*

3 *ugnim-bi ki-gin ba-nu-zu ingar UL-ni-[ib]-aga(?)]*

4 *ni-šu-šu a-šar il-la-ka ul i-da-a i-ga-ra tu-un(?)-na(?)-[kip]*

5 *ǵu-dal-a-bi ugu-ba(?)-ta-an-ru á-bi ki-a mu-un-te-ga*

6 *iṣṣur-šu mu-pa-riš-tu muḫ-ḫa-ša im-ma-ḫi-iṣ-ma kap-pa-ša irṣita im[-ma-ḫi-ir]*

7 *ǵa-bi engur-ra ud-mi-ni-ib-ra-aǵ ka-mu-un-ba-ba-[e-ne(?)]*

8 *nunu-šu ina ap-si-i ᶦˡAdad ir-ḫi-iṣ· ma pi-[šu] ip-te-ni-[']*

9 *gan-na maš-anšu-bi u-gug mi-ni-in-DU ǵu-mun-dim šu-mi-ni-ib-nam-[tar(?)]*

10 *il-du ša bu-ul-šu su-uk-ku-uk-ma ar-bi-i u-ša-a-me[šu-nu(?)]*

11 *a-ma-e zi(g)-ga-bi kur ru-a-bi-ǵul-ǵul*

12 *a-gi-e ina(?) [te]-bi-i mu-ab-bit šadi-i*

13 *ur-sag ᵈUrta ki-bal-a-šu im-tug-da-na . . .*

14 *qar-ra-du ᶦˡAnušat ana mat nu-kur-te i-ši(?)-ir-šu . . .*

15 *. . . . i]m(?)-ma bi kur-ra ba(?)-ra-aǵ uru-bi gid(?) . . . tu . . .*

16 *. . . -šu ina šadi-i i-du-uk-ma ali-šu . . .*

17 *. . . -bi giriš-dim . . . . dim-ma . . . .*

18 *. . . -šu ki-ma[kur]-zip-ti šu-ma . . . .*

<div align="center">REVERSE</div>

2 *. . . im-dugud-bi-ta . . .*

3 *ᵈU]rda kur-ra . . .*

4 *ᶦˡAnušat ina šadi-i . . .*

5 *en me-ir lib(?)-ba . . . ra-a[ḫ(?) . . .*
6 *beli ana ta-ḫa-zi ša ki-a-am šu-tu-[qat*
7 *giš-ku sìg-sìg-ga SAR nam-g[uruš-a]*
8 *duppu III -kam-ma lugal-e 45 mu-bi-im*

TRANSLATION

Obv. 1/2 *Amaru-eta-e* tramples down(?) to battle. 3/4 His people do not know whither it(?) goeth, the wall, it(?) hath pulled down. 5/6 His flying bird was struck upon the head and her wings came down(?) to earth. 7/8 His fish in the deep which Adad overflooded openeth wide its mouth. 9/10 The young ones of his flock are deafened, like grasshoppers he hath wasted them 11/12 the rushing of his flood destroyeth the mountains 13/14 the hero of Ninib bloweth(?) violently on the land of the enemy 15/16 his . . . . . makes a havoc in the mountains, his city, he enters . . . . 17/18 his . . . . like locusts . . .

Rev. 2 In his mighty storm . . . . 3/4 Ninib in the mountains 5/8 my lord, to the battle which thus draws near . . . . 7 in the conflict of weapons, a manly joust.

Third tablet of *Lugal-e*, 45 lines.

NOTES

Obv.   1. This line is given as a catch line by K. 4827 (Hrozný, Taf. XI, p. 22), thus proving that the latter was the second tablet. For *e-gir-e* in Hrozný's text read *e-ta-e.* Hrozný had supposed *gir-e* at the end of the line; we prefer to restore *gal-la.* Cf. Br. 9198. The *A-ma-ru e-ta-e* is perhaps the name of some personified atmospheric weapon of the storm-god; "it goes forth from the house (temple ?) like a hurricane."

3/4. Read *KI-SU-LU-UB-GAR = ugnim = ummanu* (Br. 9649); *nišu* is a synonym. The second *KI* in Ebeling is a scribal error for *LU.*

5/6. A variant of the first two signs is given by Ebeling, p. 17, No. 13, Col. II, line 14, as *ḫu-RI-i.*

7/8. "Open their mouth," i.e., are dead.

9/10. The sign missing at the beginning of the line is perhaps *gan = aladu,* "to bring forth." The Sumerian verbs are active; the Semitic translator has used the passive.

11/12. The rendering *ru . . . ḫul-ḫul,* "to destroy," is proved by *gul = abatu,* Delitzsch, *SGl.*, 108.

13/14. The reading *im* for the sign *aragub-sissik,* already proved by IIR. 27, 17c (Br. 4816), is given here as a gloss.

17/18. For *giriš = kurziptu* cf. note on Ebeling, No. 14, 44/45 (Tablet X) of this series.

Rev.   5/6. *lib*(?)-*ba* = *šutuqu* (Br. 6207) = to advance.
      7. Line completed after K. 2863 = IVR² 23, No. 2, obv. 1; (Hrozný,
        p. 32).   It is the first line of the fourth tablet.

The Fourth Tablet

The first line given as a catch line by Ebeling, No. 17, obv. 7,
corresponds to the first line in K. 2863 (4 R 23, No. 2) already studied
by Hrozný, pp. 32–35.

The Fifth Tablet

The catch-line of the fifth tablet is given by K. 2863 (4 R² 23,
No. 2) *ur-sag KA dub-ba-šu ša*(*g*) *šu-bi ši-ib-ri*, "the hero in his
lamentation raised up his hand to his heart."   Langdon has shown
(*ZA*, XXVIII, 110) that this catch-line is found in Tablet 80–7–19,
127 (Meek *BA*, X, 1, 110–11), which is therefore the fifth tablet
of the series.   To that tablet probably belongs Ebeling, No. 13,
Vorderseite (but really reverse; cf. Meissner, *OLZ*, XVIII, 334),
unless it be part of the sixth tablet.   A few signs are given.

    1   *ur-sag men* . . . *sa*(?)   2   *qarradu* . . . *ba*   3   *du* ᵈ*En-lil-
la* . . .   4   *mar* ᵈ*Ellil* . . .

Hero whose crown . . . . son of Ellil . . . .

The Sixth Tablet

The first line is given as a catch-line by Meek, *BA*, X, 1, 111.
. . . *ingar du-ni-ag-a*, . . . erects a wall.   Radau, No. 6, obv. I,
probably belongs to this tablet.

The Seventh Tablet

Radau, No. 6, obv. II, probably belongs to this tablet.   No
portion of the eighth tablet has hitherto been identified.

The Ninth Tablet

No. 14 is a large tablet and seems to include four "tablets" of
the series.   Col. IV is certainly Tablet 12 and Col. III, Tablet XI;
hence Col. I = Tablet IX and Col. II = Tablet X.

Lines 22 ff. duplicate K. 2871, obv. 1–28, Hrozný, Taf. XIII,
pp. 36–37.   K. 2871, without its complement, 81–2–4, 396, was
edited again in *BA*, V, 676–78, by Macmillan.   Radau, No. 6, rev. I,
belongs to this tablet.

(Ebeling, No. 14, Obv., Col. I; pp. 18–19)

1   *En nam-til-l]a ^dMu-ul-li-li men sag-e ul*

2   *bel na-piš-ti En-lil ša a-gu-u i-na qaqqadi-šu aš-mu*

3   *ur-sag nam-kalag-ga-a-ni á-am-ma-šu nu-ub-zu-a*

4   *qar-ra-du ša dan-nu-zu a-na '-u-ri la-a na-da-a-at*

5   *še-ir-ma-al sag-ba-an-zi-am dam-mu gub-bu-na-mu*

6   *ša e-til-lu i-ḫi-šam-ma a-na mu-ti-ia e-ru-šu*

7   *mu-ut-na-mu-ši tu-ud-ba-an-ta ḫur-nu-mu-da-an-gar-ri-eš*

8/9   *ša a-na ḫa-i-ri-ia ul-du-šu u-šar-bu-šu u-ri la iš-šak-na-ma*

10   *dû-mu ^dMu-ul-lil-la šu-mu-un-tag i-de-ni na-ba-nigin*

11   *mar ^{il}En-lil ša ip-par-ku-u pa-ni-šu la-a u-sa-ḫi-ra-ma*

12   *dun zi nunuz zi-de ba-an-tu-ud*

13   *id-lu ki-nu ša sin-niš-tu kit-tu ul-du-šu*

14   *E-šu-me-du ki-ide-el-la-na in-na-an-gin-na*

15   *a-na E-šu-me-du a-šar ni-iš i-ni-šu il-lik-kam-ma*

16   *gu-da-an-ši-tar u-gir-ra-šu*

17   *qa-a lu ub-ru-'-šu a-na be-li ga-aš-ri*

18   *ga]šan ma-e aš-du-eš da-ši-in-gin en-da ḫil-sa-a-šu*

19   *be-li-ku e-diš-ši-ia lu-ul-lik a-na be-li da-ri-i*

20   . . . *ma-e*   *mu-un-na-ni-in-du*

21   . . .   *a-na-ku am-ma-ra-aš-šu*

22   *maḫ]-di dumu maḫ di-kud ^dMu-ul-lil-la-ge*

23   *ti-iz-q]a-ra mar ṣi-ra da-ia-na ša ^{il}En-lil*

24   . . . *na*   *gab-im-ma-da-an-ri*

25   . . . *bi (?) -šu lu u-maḫ-ḫa-ra-šu*

26   . . . *ni-am-en*

27   . . . *i-ṣa-ar-ra-aḫ-šu*

28   . . . *u-G̊UL-mu-un-ma-ma.*

29   . . . *ut-ni-na-šu*

30   . . . *igi-ši-i]n-bar gu-mu-na-an-dé-e*

31   . . . *na-ap-li-si-ma i-ša-si-ši*

32   . . . *-en-gin-en-na-dim*

33   . . . *-i*   *ki-i tal-li-ki*

34   . . . *ki-bal-a mu-un-BUR-en-na-dim*

35   . . . *a-na irṣit nu-kur-ti ki-i te-ru-bi*

36   . . . *tal-la ba-an-ni-en-na-dim*

37   . . . *ta-ra-mu-u ki-i la-a tap-la-ḫi*

38   ... *gu-ru-un nig-ga-ra-mu*
39   ... *i-na gu-ru-ni ša ag-ru-nu*
40   ... *za-e nin-bi ĝe-im*
41   ... *lu-u be-li-zu*
42   ... *ᵈUrda-ka-ta*
43   ... *ša ⁱˡAnušat*
44   ... *ĝe-na-nam-me*
45   ... *ši-i] lu-u ka-am*
46   ... *ĝa-ra-an]-mud*
47   ... *lib-ni]-ki*

TRANSLATION

1/2 Incantation. O Lord of Life, god Ellil upon whose head a crown shineth, 3/4 hero whose plans are not frustrated because of his power, 5/6 by whom I quickly conceived, for my husband, a prince, 7/9 by whom I have borne him (and brought him) for my spouse while a roof was not put up for him(?). 10/11 Son of Ellil, who does not yield, whose face does not turn, 12/13 faithful hero that a faithful wife brought forth to him, 14/15 when he had gone to Eshumedu the delight of his eyes, 16/17 may I break my binding spell for my mighty Lord. 18/19 I, alone, am a lady, may I have access to my eternal Lord. 20/21 .... may I be filled from him, 22/23 the famous one, the exalted son, the Judge, (the offspring) of Ellil. 24/25 .... his .... may I be graciously received by him 26/27 ... call upon him 28/29 .... implore him. 30/31 ... look upon me, he says to her 32/33 .... when thou goest 34/35 .... when thou enterest the land of the enemy 36/37 ... thou throwest down as one who dreads not. 38/39 .... with the treasures that I have heaped 40/41 .... may .... be his lady 42/43 .... when Ninib 44/45 .... Amen. 46/47 .... may he make thee.

NOTES

4. *nadat* from *nadu* 4. (Delitzsch, *HWB*, 449.), a free translation of *ZU*.

5/6. The use of *šu* in *erušu* is parallel to that of *šu* in *uldušu, ušarbušu* in line 9 and therefore a postposition; the verb is then *eru*, "to conceive." In the Sumerian text, *mu* might perhaps be taken as a relative pronoun, translated by *ša* in line 6, but since this *mu* is not repeated in lines 7–9, which the Semitic translator has taken to be parallel, it seems preferable to take *gub* (*bu*) ... *mu* as a verb, "to raise seed." For this meaning of *mu*, cf. Delitzsch, *SGl*., p. 187, *s.v. mu* I, 3. It seems that this part of the text refers to a *hieros gamos*. The goddess herself (probably *Nin-tud* or *Belit-ile*) speaks. Cf. *CT*, XV, 5, II, 1–2 and Dhorme in *RA*, VII (1910), 18. *Sag-ba-an-zi-am* is translated *ihišamma*. The value *sag ... zi-mu=hašu*, "to hasten," is known. *zi-am* is a variant of *zi-mu*.

7–9. *tu-ud-ba-an-ta* is difficult. It seems that the Semitic translator was embarrassed and gave us a double translation, *uldušu ušarbušu.* *Ta* gives a passive meaning; cf. Langdon, *Sum. Gr.,* p. 147; *tudbanta* meaning "brought forth for."—*ĝur . . . gar* is translated *uri . . . šakanu* IV, 1, lit. "the *uri* was not made or put;" *da* passive; cf. Langdon, *Sum. Gr.,* p. 146. The sense is not clear, probably "fence" or "roof."—Lines 10–17 are addressed to Urda, son of Ellil, acting probably as a mediator.

14/15. He refers to Ninib whose sanctuary *Ešumedu* is well known.—"The delight of his eyes," lit., "the place of the lifting of his eyes."— *il-lik-kam-ma* (text, *il-lik-šum-ma*).

16/17. "The binding spell," lit., "the cord." For the rites of tying a cord to compel a god or semi-deified mortal cf. Westermarck, "l'Ar" (in *Anthr. Essays to E. B. Taylor,* pp. 369–70); *Origin and Evolution of Moral Ideas,* II, 584–86. The cord may have been tied in some hallowed part of the temple. For other magical rites connected with knots, cf. W. J. Dilling, *ERE,* VII, 747–51; R. C. Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* pp. 164 ff.; Frazer, *GB³,* III, 293 ff. Cf. especially Ep. of Jeremy, 43; Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* I, 101.

18/19. The reading *ĝil* is doubtful. Cf. *ĝil-sa-a = daratu, šukuttu,* Br. 1399, 1400.

20/21. We take *du* as *amaru,* to be full. The equation *du = malu,* to fill, was already known. Cf. Delitzsch, *System,* p. 102; Prince, *Sum. Lexicon,* p. 83. "To be filled" may refer to some special grace or blessing asked for, not necessarily pregnancy.

28/29. Cf. Br. 9488.

36/37. The overhanging *la* points to a reading *tal.* Cf. Br. 2573 = *ramû* "to throw."

44/45. Cf. *nam-me = kiam.* Br. 2213.

The Tenth Tablet
(Ebeling, No. 14, Obv., Col. II, pp. 20–21)

Col. II, 27–46, is a duplicate of Radau, *BE,* XXIX, No. 6, II, rev. 1–11. Probably Radau, No. 8, Col. I, belongs to another part of this tablet.

1   *ᵈUrda en dumu ᵈEn-lil-la-ge aš-am-[mi-ni-ib-sìr*
2   *ⁱˡAnušat belu mar ⁱˡEllil ir-ra-[ar-šu-nu*
3   *ta-u kur-ra ba-an-zi(g)-ga-en-n[a-dim*
4   *u-mu ina šadi-i ki-i te-b[i-ka . . .*
5   *šu-dib-mu-šu mu-um-dib-ba-[en-na-dim*
6   *a-na ka-mi-ia ki-i tak-mi- . . . .*
7   *nam-ug-ga-mu mu-un-kud-da[-en-na-dim*

8   *a-na na-ri-ia ki-i ta-at-ta-ma . . . .*

9   *en ᵈUrda me-en ki-dur-maǵ-e ní-ǵu-luǵ-ga-en-na[-dim*

10 *belu ⁱˡAnušat a-na-ku ina šub-ti-ia ṣir-ti ki-i tu-gal-li-ta-ni*

11 *kalag-ga dun ingar-tuǵ dirig-ga a-alam-zu ǵe-im-ta-ba-ba*

12 *dan-ka id-lu ra-aš e-mu-qi šu-ta-ru la-an-ka li-na-ši-ir*

13 *ud-gal a-kalag-ga-bi-šu nir-gal-e ǵe-en-zi-ri-ne*

14 *u-mu-gal-u ša a-na e-mu-qi-šu dan-na-ti tak-lu li-pa-šiš-ka*

15 *a-kalag-tuǵ a-gar-ra šu-ǵu-mu-un-gíd-i*

16 *ra-aš e-mu-qi ina a-ba-ri liš-ta-da-ad-ku*

17 *ta-u-a šeš-a zi-dim ǵe-mu-[un]-dub-bu-ne-en*

18 *u-mu limnuti-ka ki-ma qêmu lit-bu-bu-ka*

19 *li-li-a-bi šu-ǵa-ba-an-zi-zi LU+UŠ-bi-ne-ne zu-ne*

20 *a-na   li-li-di-šu-nu   lu-u   na-an-du-ra-ta-ma   šal-ma-te-šu-nu   mu-[di]-i*

21 *kalag me-en gu-dé-zu [ǵe]-gal gaz-e-ne til-la-ab*

22 *id-lu at-ta ši-si-it-ka lib-ba-ši-ma ina pu-su-si na-ag-mir*

23 *am-gal lu-šar-ra gaz-za-dim ní-ba-bi-šu gar-ra-ab*

24 *ki ri-mi rabi-i ša ma-du-tu i-du-ku-šu a-na zi-it-ti na-aš-ki-in*

25 *ta-u mê-ta giš-ku-ta ur-ku-ri nig sib-tur-ra šar-ra-dim*

26 *u-mu ina ta-ḫa-zi ki-ma kal-bi ša ka-par-ri kakku u-kaš-ši-du-šu*

27 *en me-en ⁿᵈgug buru-da mu-bi ǵe-sà-a*

28 *be-li-ku sa-an-ta ina pa-la-ši šu-ma šu-a-tu lu-u na-[ba-a]*

29 *ni-ne-šu nam-tar-ra ᵈUrda-ka . . .*

30 *ud-da kalam-ma ⁿᵈA-AR-TAG ⁿᵈgug buru-da ur ǵe-na-nam-me*

31 *u-ma i-na mati ab-nu il-la ⁽ᵃᵇᵃⁿ⁾sa-an-tu ip-pa-la-as ši-i lu-[u   ki-a-am]*

32 *ur-sag ⁿᵈsu-u ⁿᵈka-sur-ra im-ma-gub gu-ba-an-[dé]*

33 *qar-ra-du a-na ᵃᵇᵃⁿsi-e ᵃᵇᵃⁿka-šar-ri-e iz-ziz-ma i-[qab-bi]*

34 *en-e a-ra ne-ib-šid-e-[en-ne]*

35 *belu a-lak-ta i-ta-mi-šu-nu*

36 *ᵈUrda en dumu ᵈEn-lil-la-ge aš-am-mi-ni-ib-sìr . . .*

37 *ⁱˡAnušat belu mar ⁱˡEllil ir-ra-ar-šu-nu . . .*

38 *ⁿᵈsu-u giš-ku-bi-sag-bi-ma za-na-dim . . .*

39 *ᵃᵇᵃⁿsu-u a-na kakke-ia ki-i ta-[mu at-ta]*

40 *ⁿᵈka-šur-ra gud-dim u-na-mu-un-laǵ-en-na . . .*

41 *ka-šur-ru-u ki-ma li-e qad-ri-iš ki-i ta-al-lak*

42 *am-dim ŭ saǵar-ra mu-e-ri za-[na-dim]*

43   *ki-i ri-mi rabi(i) qar-ni-ka ina e-pi-ri ki-i* . . .
44   *giriš-dim šu-ĝa-ba-an-sìg-gi-[en-na-dim(?)*
45   *ki-ma kur-zip-ti e-mi-iš-ku-nu* . . .
46   *ní me-lam-mu ba-e-[en-ne-en-dul]*
47   *pu-luḫ-ti me-lam-mi-ia ik-tu-um* . . .
48   *a-maĝ-ni la(?)]-ba-an-z[ig-gi-en za-na-dim.*

TRANSLATION

1/2   Lord Ninib, son of Ellil, is cursing (them). 3/4. On the day when thou rushest through the mountains, 5/6 when, in order to catch me, thou takest hold of (thy net?), 7/8 when in order to murder me, thou preparest (spells?) 9/10 O Lord Ninib, when thou frightenest me in my noble dwelling, 11/12 O mighty hero, endowed with strength, overwhelming one, may thy form be cut off. 13/14 May the great Storm, sure of his abundant power, crush thee! 15/16 May the Strong One drag thee down to the muddy waters. 17/18 May thy evil days be poured upon thee like flour! 19/20 Deal terribly with their offspring, know them as corpses! 21/22 Thou art a hero; let thy cry be, Come to an end by crushing, 23/24 (or) as a great steer which a crowd has butchered, be thou cut to pieces, 25/26 or, on the day of battle, as a dog whom the shepherd reaches with his weapon. 27/28 Thou art Lord! While the dark(?)-stone[1] is being bored, let this name be invoked. 29 When Ninib has decreed the fate . . . 30/31 When in the land, the illa-stone or the dark(?) sandu-stone is bored, so let it be. 32/33 The hero standing over the su-stone, the kashur-stone, shall speak; 34/35 the Lord shall order their goings; 36/37 the Lord Ninib, son of Ellil, shall curse them. 40/41 O Kašur-stone, when like a bull furiously thou goest, 42/43 when like a great steer thou . . . thy horn in the dust in tumult(?) . . . . 44/45 like grasshoppers, he shall smite you. 46/47 The fear of my glory shall overwhelm . . . 48 Thou(?) art like one whose great strength one taketh away.

NOTES

1/2. For missing signs, cf. line 36/37.

3/4. *ta-u* (cf. also line 17/18). The Semitic scribe understood it as equivalent to *ud-da*.

5. Second sign is doubtful. We take it as *dib* (as the Semitic translator did).—*mu-un-dib-ba* (text *mu-e-dib-ba*).

9/10. *ina šubtija ṣirti* is more definite than the Sumerian text; the latter speaks only of *the* lofty dwelling, and might be translated "when thou from thy lofty dwelling, terrified me."

11/12. *ta* passive; *li-na-ši-ir = linnašir.*

[1] Perhaps the Cornelian stone. Cf. G. Boson, *op. cit.*, pp. 405–6.

13/14. It is not clear whether this line is immediately connected with what precedes it.

15/16. *a-gar = abaru* cf. *SAI*, 8915.

17. *mu-un-dub-bu;* Text *mu-e-dub-bu.*

19/20. *šu . . . zi-zi* = "to be terrible"; cf. Br. 7124.—The true reading of *LU+UŠ* is not known. This passage establishes the meaning "corpse" for the ideograph.—*Zu* points to a form *mu-'-di-i* or *mu-di-i* in the Semitic translation. Ebeling's text has *mu-'-i*, probably a scribal error.

21/22. *GAZ = pu-su-si* Inf. II, 1 of *pa-sa-su.*   M-A. 816a.

23. value *ni* for *IM* proved by VR 40; 61, 62cd.

25. *ur-ku* is probably the right reading; *ri* is not an overhanging syllable pointing to a form *ur-dur-ri*, but probably the sign of the nominative. Cf. Langdon, *Hist. and Rel. Texts*, p. 4, n. 2.

27. *buru-da*, S[N] (Radau, No. 6, Col. II), rev. 1, *me-ri-GUL-ZA.*

29. *Urda-ka.*   S[N], rev. 2, *Urda-ge.*

30. *A-AR-TAG.*   S[N] rev. 3, *A-(U ?)-AR-TAG.*—*nam-me*, cf. No. 14, Col. I, 44.   S[N], rev. 4, *nam-ma.*

31. *abaṇsa-an-tu* (text *LAḪ sa-an-tu*).

32. *ka-šur-ra*, etc.   S[N], rev. 5, *ga-šur-ra-ge gu-am-ba-dé.*

34. reading *a-ra* proved by S[N], rev. 6, *a-RI-a.*

36/37. *aš . . . sìr = araru SAI*, 4826.   *aš* = "to curse," *sìr* = "to sing." The curse was cantillated.—S[N], rev. 7, *nam-am-mi-ib-tar-ri.*

38. S[N], rev. 8, *naṣu-u giš-ku-ma sag-bi-dim za-na-dim.*

40/41. S[N], rev. 9, *u-na-ba-an-laĝ-gi-en-na-dim.*

42/43. *mu-e-ri* S[N], rev. 10, *me-ir-ri-dim.*   We find *mu-e-ri* in Radau, *BE*, XXIX, No. 7, rev. 51; cf. Ebeling, No. 14, Col. III, 24/25, as a variant of *mer-ra = ri-ig-mu*, "tumult."

44/45. *giriš.*   The Accadian name was unknown.   Cf. Delitzsch, *SGl.*, p. 93. *kurziptu* is probably identical with the Aramaic כַּרְזוּבָא, "a kind of locust."—*e-mi-iš* is not from *māšu* (else we should expect *imiš*), but from some verb *amašu.* This passage fixes the reading *imiš* in Delitzsch, *HWB.*, 93a, *s.v. i-miš*, and also in *SGl.*, p. 259, *s.v. šarin.* The Sumerian verb is *šu-sìg*, from *sìg*, meaning evidently "to smite," etc.   Var. S[N], rev. 11, *ba-e-en-zi-en.*

46. Line completed after S[N], rev. 12.

48. Restored from S[N], rev. 13.

The Eleventh Tablet
(Ebeling, No. 14, rev., Col. III, pp. 22–23)

The text given in this column is a variant of IV R² 13 No. 1, obv. 46 ff., and has often been translated; cf. Bezold, *Catal.*, II, 483, for earlier works; Hrozný, *Ninrag*, pp. 26 ff., for a more recent

treatment.   The new text explains much that had remained obscure.
Radau, *BE*, XXIX, No. 7, rev. 38–62, is a duplicate of Col. III, 2–42.

The beginning of the column giving oracles concerning three
stones is missing in the Assur text.

 2   *lugal-mu]* ⁿᵈ*e-lal-l[um ba-gub]*
 3   ᵈ*Urda en dû* ᵈ*En-lil-la-ge nam-mi-ni-ib-[tar-ri]*
 4   ⁿᵈ*e-lal-lu giš-ku-geštu lù-du me-en ni-mu ĝu-mu-ni-[ib-ri]*
 5   ᵃᵇᵃⁿ*e-lal-lu ra-aš uz-ni mu-uṣ-ṣa-lu at-ta pu-luḫ-ti [lu-u ta-ra-ma]*
 6   *ki-bal-a kalam-ma-ge ur-a-ra-ge mu-mu ĝu-mu-ni-ib-[sà-a]*
 7   *ina mat nu-kur-te mati mit-ḫa-riš šu-mi lu-ta-a[m-bi]*
 8   *silim-zu-ta nam-ba-ra-bi*
 9   *ina šul-mi-ka e ta-na-še-ir*
10   *kur-ra-zu tur-tur-la(l)-bi g[e-gig]*
11   *ra-bu-ut-ka eli šu-ḫu-ri li-im-ra-aṣ*
12   *me-mu bar-zu si-ĝu-mu-ra-ab-si-sa-e*
13   *par-ṣi-ia ina zu-um-ri-ka liš-te-ši-ru*
14   *giš-ku sig-ga ur-sag ug-ga-zu mu-zu ĝa-ra-an-pád-da*
15   *i-na tam-ḫu-uṣ kakki qarradu ša a-na-ru-ka šum-ka lu-u aš-qar*
16   *kisal-maĝ-am ki-gal-la ĝu-mu-un-da-ri*
17   *ina kisal-maḫḫi ki-gal-la lu-u ra-ma-ta*
18   *kalam-ma [igi]-dug-gi-eš ĝe-i-i ár-ri-eš ĝe-im-me-gar*
19   *mata ṭa-biš lib-ri-ka a-na ta-na-da-ti liš-kun-ka*
20   *lugal-mu* ⁿᵈ*KA-gi-na ba-gub*
21   *nam-kalag-ga-bi-šu gu-ba-an-de-e*
22   *a-na dan-nu-ti-šu i-ša-si*
23   ᵈ*Urta en [dû]* ᵈ*En-lil-la-ge nam-mi-ni-ib-tar-ri*
24   ⁿᵈ*KA-gi-na ki-bal-a-šu gù-mer-ra gal-la*
25   ᵃᵇᵃⁿ*ša-da-nu ša ina mat nu-kur-ti ri-ig-ma taš-ku-nu*
26   *gù-ĝuš(?) mê-a gù-ĝuš(?) ne-ib-ra*
27   *ri-gim ta-ḫa-zi iz-zi-iš šam-riš ta-su-u*
28   *du(n)-na šu-mu sa-nu-mu-ri-ib-du*
29   *sal-ṭi-iš qa-a-ti lu ik-šu-da-ka*
30   *dú-dú-da-ta la ba-an-da-lal-e*
31   *it-ti aš-ṭu-te la-at-ta-lu-ka*
32   *ug-za [gir]-za ba-ab-sig-gi-da—a-na še-ip ni-ši-ka ta-tas-ḫu*
33   *garza* ᵈ*Babbar garza ĝe-a—pa-ra-aṣ* ⁱˡ*Šamaš lu par-ṣu-ka*
34   *sa-kud maĝ kur-kur-ra si-sa-e*

35 *ki-ma da-a-a-ni matati šu-te-šir*
36 *gal-an-zu pa-dú nig-nam-ma-ge*
37 *ir-šu mu-di-e man-ma šum-šu*
38 *nam-[guškin]-šu ǧe-en-kalag-gi—ki-ma ḫuraṣi li-ša-qir-ku*
39 *dun ba-dib-a-ni ù-ba-ra-en-na-til-la-zu-šu*
40 *id-lu sa ak-mu-ma a-di u-bal-li-ṭu-ka la [aṣ-la-lu-ma]*
41 *ni-ne-šu nam-tar-ra ᵈUrta [ka-ta]*
42 *ud-da kalam-ma ⁿᵈKA-gi-na til-la-sa-[sa ǧar ǧe-na-nam-me]*
43 *u-ma ina mati ᵃᵇᵃⁿša-da-nu bal-ṭu i qab-[bi ši-i lu-u ki-a-am]*
44 *im-gid-da 11 ᵏᵃᵐ⁻ᵐᵃlugal ud melambi nir-gal*
45 *šu-nigin 49 mu-bi-im.*

TRANSLATION

2 My lord stood before the elallu-stone. 3 Ninib, son of Ellil, has decided the fate. 4/5 O *elallu*-stone, endowed with intelligence, thou art the enemy, mayest thou be thrown in fear of me. 6/7 Both abroad and at home may my name be invoked (as) 8/9 "In spite of the prosperity granted to thee, let it not be diminished. 10/11 May thy greatness find smallness difficult. 12/13 May my commands through thee be performed." 14/15 When, in the onslaught of weapons, I smite thee, O warrior, may I call thee by thy name; 16/17 in the great court of the Lower World, mayest thou lie down (even thou whose name is) 18/19 "May he look upon thee with favor in the home land, may he give thee pre-eminence." 20 My King stood before the mountain-stone, 21/22 crying with all his might, 23 Ninib, son of Ellil, has decided the fates. 24/25 Mountain-stone that causest a tumult in the land of the enemy, 26/27 the roar of battle, furiously, [noisily] thou hast removed. 28/29 May my hand overtake thee triumphantly. 30/31 With the mighty ones, I shall not pay thee reverence. 32 Thou shalt be cast out at the feet of thy people. 33 Let the commands of Shamash be thy commands. 34/35 Rule the lands like a noble Judge. 36/37 May the wise one, he who knows everything, 38 value thee like gold, 39/40 O hero, of whom I took hold, until I have quickened thee, I shall not take any rest. 41 When Ninib has decided the fates. 42/43 On the day that in the land he evoked the spirit of the mountain-stone. Amen. 44 XIth long tablet of Lugal. 45 Total 49 lines.

NOTES

2. Restored from N^N; S^N *i[m-ma-gub]*.

4/5. ⁿᵈ*e-lal-lu;* S^N ⁿᵈ*e-li-el-e,* "the *elel*-stone." Cf. Langdon, *BE,* XXXI, 29 (Pl. 10), line 8.—*lù-du* = *muṣṣalu.* Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 143, *s.v. du,* V; S^N *kur-lu-du.*

6. *ur-a-ra-ge;* S^N *[ur-a]-ri-a-ge.*

8–12. We take these three lines as a kind of name.

8. *nam-ba-ra-bi;* N^N *nam-ba-da-ab-e.*

10. Completed from N^N; S^N *ǵe-ǵig-[e]*.

14/15. *sig-ga* N^N *sig-sig.—mu-zu*, etc. N^N *ug-ga-zu-šu gal-bi du-ma-ab; ša ta-na-ru ra-biš šuk-li-la;* Hrozný, "der du tötest, stirb herrlich." S^N, *ug-ga-zu šu-ǵal-bi ǵe-ni-du;* Radau, "thou who killest, gloriously thou shalt be adorned."

16/17. Line lacking in S^N; probably interpolated.

18/19. *igi* (text *giš*); this correction is supported by S^N *igi-[dug]-gi-eš;* the verb is *igi . . . i-i.* Cf. *igi . . . il-il* Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 22.— In the various recensions the verbs have been interchanged. S^N *ǵe . . . ma ǵe . . . i-i;* N^A *ǵe i-i ǵe . . . gar;* N^N *ǵe i-i ǵe . . . gal.*—We take the whole line to be the name given to the stone.

20. For different kinds of *KA-gi-na* stones, cf. *CT,* VI, 11a, 1–5.—*lugal-mu,* "My lord," "Monseigneur."

22. Between 22 and 23, S^N and N^N insert *dun ni-tug* ^{giš}*šir igi-bar-ra-šu ni-gal-la* (S^N *gal-kam*); "awe-inspiring hero, the light of whose eyes strikes with terror."

23. *dû,* not in text; supplied from N^N and from the same rubric in line 3.

24. *ki-bal-a-šu;* so N^N; S^N *ki-bal-a-ta.*

25. *ri-ig-ma;* N^N *rig-ma ez-za.*

26/27. This line appears in the margin of IVR. Cf. Hrozný, pp. 28, 29. Lacking in S^N. The value *ǵuš* is not certain (Delitzsch *SGl.,* p. 218). One might argue for a value *mer* from the reading *mer-ra* = *rigmu* in the preceding line.—*ta-su-u.* Meissner, *OLZ,* XV, 335, would read *ta-as-su-u,* which would be a better form. Yet *ta-su-u* is not impossible. The stem is *nisū* "to remove."—*izziš, šamriš,* double translation of *gù-ǵuš*(?).

28. *du(n)-na* is therefore the reading of *[BU]R-na* = *salṭiš* in N^N. This text as edited by Pinches has *[G]A-na.* (IVR. 13, rev. 24.) The reading *BUR-na* is more probable. For *BUR* = *tu* = *erebu,* "to enter," cf., IVR. 20, obv. 17; 28, 21*b* (Br. 339, 332).—*BUR* = *du* = *dababu,* "to speak" (Br. 337, 348).—*BUR* = *du(UL)* = *dâlu,* "to move furtively"; cf. *CT,* XVI, 28, 44, and variant. *ri-ib* is equivalent to *rab,* on which cf. Delitzsch *SGr.,* p. 172.—*sa . . . du,* variant form of *sa . . . dug* = *kašadu,* Delitzsch *SGl.,* p. 229.

29. The Ninevite scribe understood "has not reached." Our translator probably read *na-mu* as equivalent to the asseverative *nam.*

30. *dú-dú-da-ta;* N^N, *da-da-a-ta.—la,* N^N, *nam;* seems to be lacking in S^N.—*ba-an-da-lal-e;* N^N, *ba-da-ab-lal-e;* S^N, *ba-ab-lal-en . . . — da . . . lal.* Cf. Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 168.

32. *za . . . za.* N^N *zu . . . zu.—gir* (N^N). Ebeling's text has *LID.— sig-gi-da;* S^N *si-gi-en.—ta-tas-ḫu,* "without a negation." Hence the *e* in the Semitic N^N version was the asseverative *e.*

34. *sa-kud-maǵ;* N^N *sa-kud-dim,* which is supported by the Semitic translation in line 35.

36. *gal-an-zu* could be translated "magus."—*ge;* so N^N; S^N, *ka.*

38. *kubabar*, silver. The Semitic translator read *guškin*, which we find also in N^N.—*ǧe-en-kalag-gi;* N^N, *ǧe-en-kal-la-gi.* S^N, *ǧe-en-na-kal-li-me-en.* These variants prove that the reading *kalag* for the sign *GURUŠ* is correct. The value *kal(a)* (cf. Delitzsch, *SGl.*, p. 113) is derived. The reading *esig* proposed by Delitzsch (*SGl.*, p. 36) is doubtful; it is probably limited in its connotation and may be a Semiticism.

39. *ni;* N^N *na.*—*u-ba-ra,* etc.; S^N, [*ba*]*-ra-e u-un-en-na-til-la-zu-šu.*

40–43. Completed from N^N.

42. S^N *ǧe-en-na-na*[*m-ma*].

The Twelfth Tablet

Ebeling, No. 14, Col. IV, is a duplicate of VATh. 251. (Text in Abel Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 60–61; Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*, pp. 122–25; translation by Hrozný, *Nin-rag*, pp. 30–31.) Radau, *BE*, XXIX, No. 8, Col. III, gives a section of the tablet not duplicated by Ebeling's text.

NOTES

11. *dugud = emedu* S^B, *uš.*

18/19. A duplicate of these two lines from the unpublished text, Sm. 769, is given by Strassmaier, *A V*, pp. 734 and 739. We would restore Ebeling's text thus: $^{lu(?)}$*nagar lu kin-gi-a ab-nam-sa-sa-da; nam-ga-ru ša šip-ra du-mu-qa i-li-e-u;* "the smith who knows his work well."—The reading *sa-sa* for *DI-DI* is proved by Strassmaier's *sa(sig).*—*i-li-e-u* is from לֵאָה.—Instead of *ab-nam-sa-sa-da*, Hr.'s transliteration of VATh. 251 has *ab-en-e-sá-sá = du-um-mu-qa i-qab-bu-u*, "the smith whose work is well spoken of."

The catch-line before the colophon of our text of Tablet XII differs from the catch-line in VATh. 251. According to the list of catch-lines given by Const. Ni. 2371 (cf. *BE*, XXXI, D. 10, rev. 19), we must read *ur-sag* ^{na}*zib-tum-e ba-gub igi-dul ba-an-ag*, "The hero stood over the *zibtum* ('fate-bringer') stone, casting down his eyes(?)." The name of the *zib-tum* stone is found again in *CT*, VI, 12a, 32–34.

The list of rubrics dealing with stones in Const. Ni. 2371 (*BE*, XXXI, D. 10) does not settle the question of the order of their respective sections.

The rubrics obv. 6–9 in the Constantinople Tablet certainly belong to Tablet XI; 10 and 12 belong to Tablet XII; 16 belongs to Tablet XI; 17 to Const. Ni. 2375; 19 is the beginning of Tablet XIII in the N^A text, while, according to the catch-lines in VATh. 251 (S^B), rubric 14 begins Tablet XIII.

VATh. obv. 31 connects with the *du-šu* stone (a section of Tablet XII) the *gug*-stone, which is probably a part of our Tablet X, but this is not in itself very important, as Const. Ni. 2375, obv. 8, refers to the *ga-šur-ra* stone, which is also part of Tablet X.

Any attempt to classify these different sections must therefore be abandoned. There was in Assyria and Babylonia no Act of Uniformity. We must at least admit that S^B and Const. Ni. 2371 (a Nippurian text) represent an order different from the Northern recension of *Lugal-ud*.

The number of lines of Tablet XII was 44 according to VATh. 251. Ebeling has 40(?) plus 7(?).

Text 14 of Ebeling is dated in the eponym. year of Esarhaddon, as also No. 15 and probably No. 16. No *limu* of Esarhaddon is known. If this *Assur-aḫ-iddina* is the son of Sennacherib, we are surprised that he is not called *šarru*. We should expect a *limu* of Esarhaddon, either during the troublous times following the death of Sennacherib or before that date. The reading *Assur-aḫ-iddina* is not an error for *Nabu-aḫ-iddina*, whose *limu* is already known, because it occurs in at least two places in Ebeling's texts, and that in documents written by official scribes of Assur, whose accuracy in such matters can hardly be questioned.

B. THE EPIC ANA-DIM-DIM-MA

This poem is a supplement of *Lugal-e* and tells of a further exaltation of Ninib. While in the former epic we find, at times, traces of a chthonic character of Ninib, and, at other times, references to a previous career of Ninib as a legendary hero, in the second series Ninib has become a sky-god, without earthly affinities.

Texts belonging to this epic have been published by Hrozný, *MVAG*, 1903, No. 5, Taf. I–X; Radau, *BE*, XXIX, No. 9.

We have the same problems of textual criticism as in the preceding epic, but with only one version of the Southern text to deal with. We shall use the following symbols:

S^N Southern Text, Nippur (Radau).
N^N Northern Text, Ninevite (Hrozný).
N^A Northern Text, Assur (Ebeling).

TABLE II

TABLETS	TEXTS		
	S^N	N^A	N^N
I...............	Rad. 9, obv.	....	K. 2864 (Hr., Taf. I)
II...............	....	Eb. 12	K. 8531(=2R19 No. 1) +Rm. 126 (Hr., Taf. II–IV)
III............	....	....	K. 38 (Hr., Taf. V–VI) (=2R 19 No. 2)
VI.............	Rad. 9, rev.	Eb. 18	K. 4829+Rm. 117.—79-7-8, 290 (Hr., Taf. VII–X)

The First Tablet

K. 2864. Cf. Hrozný, 6–9, Tafel I; Radau, *BE*, XXIX, I, No. 9, obv., is a duplicate of K. 2864, obv. 15–22, plus 9 additional lines. Cf. *BE*, D. V, 2, pp. 64–65.

The Second Tablet

(Hrozný, pp. 8–13, Tafel II–IV [K. 8531+Rm 126]; Ebeling, No. 12 [pp. 16–17])

NOTES

It will suffice to note a few important variants.

Obv. 6. *at* is a scribal error for *i*. Cf. K. 8531, obv. 4.

10. *i-ba-'-[u]*; N^N *ib-ta-'*.

11/12. *a-[mà]-ru* ^{d}*Ur-ru-da;* . . . *-ti a-bu-ba-niš i-ba-'-[u]*; . . . "*NIN-IB* rushes like a cyclone." Instead of ^{d}*Ur-ru-da*, N^N has *ba-ur-ta*. The *dimmer* sign differs very little from *ba*, and Ebeling's reading is not certain; the text is too fragmentary. The meaning of *Urda*— or, according to a Northern pronunciation, *Urta*—would be "storm, cyclone." Ninib was the storm-god, hence one of his names *Ug-gal-lu* or *Ud-gal-lu*(= *umu ir-pu-u*, "dark storm"), IIR, 57, 51*cd*. Cf. VR. 16, 47*ef*, which is to be distinguished from *Ud-(giš)gal-lu*, "the Sun of man-kind," a title of Shamash, IVR², 19, 47–48*a*.

13. *ki-ma u-mi ina i-šid šame ut-ta-[aṣ-ṣa-am]* Hrozný, p. 47 read *[ud-da]-aṣ-ṣa-am*, pres. II, 2, from **dasamu*, "to thunder." The form might be II, 2, from *asamu*, "to be strong" (*uttaṣṣam* = *u'taṣṣam*); II, 2, "to exhibit strength," "to be irritated," perhaps "to thunder." The Sumerian text has *ib-dam . . . za*. Cf. Br. 4980, *ib-dam-ma* = *ramamu*, "to thunder."

15. *[a-na] e-kur it-ta-aš-[ku-ni]*. N^N *a-na e-kur i-na na-aš-ku-ni*.

16. *[qar]radu ilani na-aš-pa-nu . . . .* N^N *qarradu ilani ma-a-ta i-na sa-pa-ni*.

17. last Sumerian sign *ta*, not *da* as Hrozný had supposed.

The Third(?) Tablet

(K. 38. Hrozný, Taf. V, VI, and pp. 12–15)

. No part of the fourth and fifth tablet has been identified.

The Sixth Tablet

(Ebeling, No. 18; cf. Hrozný, pp. 14–21, Taf. VII–X; Radau, No. 9, rev.)

This is really the sixth, and not the fourth, tablet of the series, because in the Nippurian text published by Radau it occurs on the left side of the reverse.

Ebeling, No. 18. Obv. 10–26 = K. 4829, obv. 5–25
                        12–28 = 79–7–8, 290, obv. 1–22.
          Rev.   1–27 = K. 4829, rev. 4–33
                  1 –5 = Rm. 117, rev. 10–15
                11–25 = 79–7–8, 290, rev. 1–21
                1–10 = *BE*, XXIX, No. 9, rev. 6–13

K. 4829, 79–7–8, 290 and Rm. 117 are combined in Hrozný, pp. 14–21. Hrozný did not know that 79–7–8, 290 represents a recension different from K. 4829, with which our text is more similar.

<div align="center">TEXT</div>

1   *a-a-mu me-mu ĝa-ma-ni-ib-tu(r)-tu(r)- . . .*

2   ^{d}*En-lil-li á nam-ur-sag-ga zu-šu ĝa- . . .*

3   ^{il}*Ellil ana i-di qar-ra-du-ti-ia mê . . .*

4   *. . . g]uš ^{giš}ku-mu a-ra-ba ĝa-ma- . . .*

5   *. . . kakke-ia iz-zu-ti araba-a . . .*

6   *. . . nigin-na-mu gu en-ni-ir si ĝa- . . .*

7   *. . . el-la i-na nap-ḫar beli liš- . . .*

8   *. . . an-na-mu ki gal-la ĝa-ma- . . .*

9   *. . . a-nu-ti-ia i-na aš-ri rabi-i liš- . . .*

10 *[ur-sag] dib-dib-mu gud du-du-dim tug-su(d)-nun-tug-tu(d) ĝa-ma- . . .*

11 *[qarradu] ša ak-mu-u ki-ma alpi mu-tak-pi šum-ma-ni lit(?)- . . .*

12 *[lugal-mu di]b-dib-mu ^{d}babbar-dim ka-šu-ĝa-ra-ab-gal tur(?) . . .*

13 *[šar-ru] ša ak-mu-u ki-ma ^{il}ša-maš ap-pa lil-bi-nu . . .*

14 *kalag-ga a-ma-ru ^{d}en-lil-li kur-ra gab-nu-ge me-[en]*

15 *dan-nu a-bu-ub ^{il}ellil ša i-na šadi-i la-a im-ma-ḫa-ru a-na-k[u]*

16 *en ^{d}Urta me-en mu-pád-da-mu-šu ka-ki-su-ub ĝa-ma-ab-gá-e-ne*

17 *belu ^{il}anušat a-na-ku a-na zi-kir su-me-ia liš-ki-nu-u-ni*

18 *á-kal maĝ sag-pirig-ga ^{d}en-lil-li dirig-dirig-ta tu-ud-da me-en*

19 *e-mu-qa ^{il}ṣi-ra-ti zi-im la-a-bi ša ^{il}ellil ina e-mu-qi-šu ul-dù-šu ana-ku*

20 *[ud?] an-ni rab dingir-ri-e-ne-ge—e-nu ^{il}a-nu rap-pi ilani*

21 *lugal(?) ^{il}an-ni dirig-gal-a-ni-su pad-da me-en*

22 *šarru(?) ^{il}a-nu i-na e-mu-qi-šu ra-ba-a-ti u-tu-u-šu a-na-ku*

23 *[. . . -ga(?)-giš kur-gul-gul-la-an-t]a nam-lugal-la tum-ma me-en*

.

24   [*kak-ku mu-ab-bit ša-di-e ša-qu-ti*] *ša ana šar-ru-ti šu-lu-ku a-na-ku*

25   [*nam-lugal-mu zag an-ki-ge*] *ĝad-ê' ĝe-mi-ni-in-ag*

26   *šar-ru-ti a-na paṭ šame u irṣitim liš-ta-a-pi*

27   *ĝe-ag(?)-ri* . . .

28   . . . *ma-a(?)* . . .

<div align="center">

REVERSE

(First lines broken off)

</div>

1   [*inim-dug lugal ud-sud-da-šu mu-un-na-ab-bi*]—*a-ma-tu ṭa-ab-tu*
     ša šar-ri ana ru-qi-e-ti qi-bi-ši

2   *a-nun-na a-ri-a* ^d*Nin-kar-nun-na-ge e-ne*

3   *ša ri-ḫu-ut ru-bi-e ra-ḫu-u* ^{il}*nin-kar-nun-na*

4   [*ud-bi-a ka-zur-zur-ra-ge*]—*e-nu-šu i-na pi-i ni-qi-i*

5   *sag nig-gir(?) a-sid-de sud-*[*de*]—*libba-šu ina kat(?)-ri-e me*
     ka-ṣu-te is-luḫ

6   *nig nam-ĝe-am ne-in-dug-ga-bi*—*man-ma-an-na-a ša iq-bu-šu*

7   [*me ud*]-*ul-ni-a-su ĝad-ê'-a-ge*—*par-ṣi-šu ana u-um ṣa-a-ti ana*
     šu-pi-i

8   *e-šu-me-du ĝad-ê' dib-dib-bi-ge*

9   *ana e-šu-me-du šu-pi-iš i-na ba-'i-ka*

10   *šàg* ^d*urta-ge ba-šag*—*lib-bi* ^{il}*anušat i-ṭi-ib*

11   *en* ^d*urta-ra igi-zi mu-un-na-an-igi-in-bar*

12   *belu* ^{il}*anušat ki-niš ip-pa-li-is-ma*

13   *nitalam-a-ni ki-el* ^d*nin-nibru*^{ki}-[*ge*]

14   *ana ḫi-ir-ti-šu ar-da-ti* ^{il}*belit-Nippur*

15   *šàg-ga-a-ni mu-un-na-ab-dug bar-ra-a-ni mu-un-na-a*[*b-bi*]

16   *ša lib-bi-šu iq-bi-ši ša ka-bit-ti-šu iq-bi-ši*

17   *kimu nam-lugal-la sud-ud-du-šu ka mu-um-na-ab*—*ṭe-im ša*[*r-ri*
     ana ru-qi-e-ti iq-bi-ši]

18   *ur-sag nam-ur-sag-a-ni ĝad-ê'-a-ge*—*qar-ra-du* [*ša qar-ra-du-us-su*
     šu-pa-a-a-ta]

19   *nam-maĝ-a-ni eš* ^d*en-lil-la-ge ki ba-ni-*[*ib-uš*]

20   *nar-bu-šu* [*bit*] ^{il}*ellil irṣita im-*[*ta-lu-u*]

21   *en kur gul-gul gab-ri nu-tug-a belu mu-ab-bit šad-i*[*ša ma-ḫi-ra*
     la i-šu-u]

22   *me maĝ-bi mer-bi ba-*[*du-du*]—*ta-ḫa-zu ṣi-*[*ru ez-zi-iš it-tak-kip*]

23   *ur-sag-gal á-na-ta ê'-a*—*qar-ra-du ina* [*e-mu-qi-šu ib-ta-'a*]

24   *kalag-ga a-ma-ru* ^d*en-lil-li*—*dan-nu* [*abubu ša* ^{il}*ellil*]

25   *urta dumu maǵ e-kur-ra-ǵe—*ilan[ušat ma-a-ru ṣiru ša E-kur]
26   nir-gal a-a ugu-na [zag-sal-zu maǵ-am]
27   e-til a-bi a-li-di-ka [ta-nit-la-ka ṣi-rat]
28   (Colophon) Nabium-nadin-šume in-šar

TRANSLATION

Obv. 1 O my father, mayest thou take part in my conflict . . . .
2/3 Enlil on the side of my valor . . . water . . . 4/5 . . . . my terrible
weapons . . . . a raven(?) may . . . 6/7 among all lords may he turn(?)
. . . 8/9 . . . . may my divinity be . . . at large 10/11 O hero, that
I hold, as a bull breaks his nose-cord, may . . . 12/13 my king, which
I hold like Shamash, may they prostrate themselves . . . 14/15 I am
a mighty one, the storm of Ellil, which nothing withstands in the mountains.
16/17 I am the Lord Ninib. At the mention of my name may they lick
the ground. 18/19 I.am the Noble Power, the glory of the Lion, that Ellil
begat in his strength. 20 Since Anu, the great one among the gods . . .
21/22 (the king?) Anu, in his great power, I have beheld. 23/24 I am a
weapon devastating the high mountains, becoming to royalty. 25/26 May
my royalty shine forth to the boundaries of heaven and earth.

Rev. 1 Tell her good news of the King for the future, 2/3 To
Ninkarnunna, begotten by the great one. 4 When, according to the custom
of offering libations, 5 in the midst of the Nig-gir(?), he poured out cold
water, 6 whatever he has ordered to him; 7 when, in order to perform
sumptuously his rites in days to come, 8/9 thou didst enter Ešumedu
in glorious apparel, 10 the heart of Ninib was pleased. 11/12 The
Lord Ninib looked with favor 13/14 upon his spouse, the maiden Lady
of Nippur, 15/16 told her what was in his heart, told her what was on
his mind, 17 intelligence concerning the kingdom in far-off days, he gave
to her, 18 the hero whose dignity is glorious, 19/20 whose greatness
in the House of Enlil fills the land; 21 he who devastates the mountains,
whom none can resist; 22 he smites with terror in his noble array; 23 the
great lord forges ahead in his strength; 24 the strong one, the flood of
Enlil, 25 Ninib, the great Son of Ekur, 26 he who has been exalted
by the Father, thy begetter, thy praises are sublime.—(Colophon). Nabu-
nadin-shume was the scribe.

NOTES

Obv. 4/5. On the arabu bird cf. Delitzsch, SGl., p. 10; perhaps a Semitic
loan-word ערב .

10/13. Beginning of line completed from K. 4829, obv. 5–9.

10/11. tug-su(d)-nun-tug-tu(d), "nose-cord," used to lead oxen; cf.
Langdon, BE, X, 1 (Sumerian epic of Paradise), p. 79, n. 1.

12/13. 79–7–8, 290, obv. 1–2, lugal-mu dib-dib-ba-mu ud an-na-dim—
šar-ru ša ak-mu-u uma ki-ma *ila-[nim].

15. *abub.* 79-7-8, 290, obv. 4, *ša-bu-ub.*

16/17. *ka-ki-su-ub,* "kissing of the ground with the mouth"; 79-7-8, 290, obv. 5, *ka-šu-ḫa-ra-a[n-* . . . .

23/24. . . . *-ga(?)-giš—kak-ku,* so after K. 4829, obv. 18-19. We must probably read *ga-ga-giš,* as Hrozný supposed (p. 56). *gaga* or *KAK* became in Semitic *kakku;* if *giš* is the determinative, *ga-ga-giš = ᵍⁱˢga-ga.*—Between lines 24 and 25, K. 4829 and 79-7-8, 290, insert two lines (cf. Hrozný, pp. 16-17, obv. 20-23).

25/26. Beginning of line after K. 4829, obv. 24/25. The variant 79-7-8 290, obv. 19/20, has only the end of the line and that differs very much from Ebeling's text: *ḫe-ê'-a-šu—irṣitim liš-te-pi.*

27. Ebeling's text is doubtful. 79-7-8, 290, obv. 21, gives *ḫu-mu-un-da-ri—lu ra-ma-ku.* But the text of that tablet differs so much from the recension given by Ebeling that we cannot be sure that it could be used here.

REVERSE

1. Completed from K. 4829, rev. 4, and Rm. 117, rev. 10.

2/3. Completed from K. 4829, rev. 5-6, and Rm. 117, rev. 11-12. Cf. also *BE,* XXIX, No. 9, rev. 9.

5. Completed from K. 4829, rev. 8-9, and Rm. 117, rev. 15. The Semitic scribe of K. 4829 has *lib-bi kiš(z)-ri-e me-e* . . . Hronzý translated (pp. 19, 57) "dem Inneren der Vulva." The Sumerian means perhaps a "bright-place." I cannot explain the Semitic word used here.

6. Completed from K. 4829, rev. 10, and Radau, No. 9, rev. 10. Read *nig* (Sᴺ) rather than *ud* (K. 4829).

7. Completed from K. 4829, rev. 11, where one must read *ni* instead of *du (KAK).*

9. *ge.* Var. K. 4829, rev. 13, *da-a-na.*

15. *dug.* Variants (K. 4829, rev. 19, and Rm. 117, rev. 7) *bi.*—Line completed from K. 4829, rev. 19, and 79-7-8, 290, rev. 5.

17/18. Lines completed from 79-7-8, 290, rev. 8, 10.

19/20. Line completed from ditto, rev. 13-14, where we have *mu-un-ši-ib-uš—im-ta-lu-u.*

20. *bit (E)* (text *u*).

21, 22, 23. Completed from 79-7-8, 290, rev. 16, 18, 20.

23. *á-na-ta;* K. 4829, rev. 29, *a-kal-ta.*

24. Line not found in K. 4829.

25/27. Completed from K. 4829, rev. 31-33.

26. *ugu (KU);* cf. *Yale Syllabary,* p. 118, *u-gu, KU, ba-nu-u, a-la-du.* Variant *ugu.* This confirms the provisional reading Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 43; possibly *ugu* stands for a more primitive *ugun.*

27. *alidika.* Var. *alidišu.*

III.   AN INCANTATION IN THE NAME OF GULA, THE LADY OF ISIN

(Ebeling, Nos. 15 and 16 [pp. 26–30])

Text No. 15 is a badly preserved duplicate of No. 16.   We shall take Text No. 16 as the basis of our study, giving in the notes variants found in No. 15.

TEXT

1   . . . . *maḫ* . . . *^{d}Ana ^{d}Uraš($?$)*
2   . . . . *rabitu* . . . *ša ^{il}A-nim u ^{il}[Uraš($?$)*
3   *^{d}Nin-in-si-an-na [dû ^{d}An-na] me-ur-ḫe-i-i*
4   *^{il}Nin]-kar-ra-ak ma-rat ^{il}A-nim . . . lu-ut-ta-[^{c}-id*
5   *e-ta ḫul-la-ni nam-ta-ê' . . . .*
6   *iš-tu biti la-li-ša ina ku-um-mi-ša . . . .*
7   *kalam-ma-ni ^{d}Babbar-ê'-dim silim-ma-mu na-gin*
8   *ma-at-sa ki-ma ^{il}Šamaš i-ḫa-aṭ i-na šul-me il-lak*
9   *sil-dagal uru-na-ge mi-ni-in-dib-bi uru-ni mu-un-da-di*
10 *ri-bit ali-ša a-na ba-'-i a-li-ša i-ša-an-na-an*
11 *nitalam-a-ni ur-sag ^{d}pa-bil-sag ḫi-li-a mu-un-gin*
12 *ḫi-rat qar-ra-di ^{il}pa-bil-sag ina ri-ša-ti il-lak*
13 *dû ki-ág-ga-ni ^{d}Da-mu šag-ga nu-nunuz-zi ^{d}Gu-nu-ra*
14 *mar-tu na-ra-am-ti ^{il}Da-mu sin-niš-tu damiqtu ^{il}Gu-nu-ra*
15 *^{d}alad šag-ga e-gal-maḫ-a-ni egir-ra-na mu-un-laḫ-gi-eš*
16 *^{il}šedu damqu a-na e-gal-maḫ arki-ša il-lak*
17 *^{d}utug šag-ga a-a ^{d}En-lil-la zi(d)-da-na mu-un-gin*
18 *^{il}utukku damqu a-bi ^{il}Ellil im-nu-ša il-lak*
19 *^{d}lamma šag-ga en ^{d}e-mam-nir-ra gub-bu-na mu-un-gin*
20 *^{il}lamassu damqu bel ^{il}E-nam-mir šu-me-el-ša il-lak*
21 *^{d}šu-nir-ra-a-ni laḫ-an na-dim igi-a-ni-šu si-mi-ni-ib-s[i]*
22 *^{il}šu-ri-nu ša ki-ma nu-ur šame ina pa-ni-ša uš-te-š[ir]*
23 *^{d}šu-maḫ sukal zi e-gal-maḫ-a igi-šu mu-un-g[in]*
24 *^{il}šu-maḫḫu sukallu ki-nu ša E-gal-maḫ ina maḫ-ri-ša il-l[ak]*
25 *e-sir sil-dagal mu-un-na-ab-el-e uru mu-un-na-ab-kug-[ga]*
26 *su-qu u ri-bi-tu ul-lu-lu-ši alu u-lal-[li]*
27 *eš-nibru^{ki} dur-an-ki-[e $?$]-sag-il-la mu-un-[gin]*
28 *a-na bit Nippur . . . [markas] ša šame [u irṣiti] il-lak*
29 *id-id sal-sil-sig-a mu-un-da-ab-ri e[š] . . . mu-un-na-ab . . .*
30 *i-na i-si-ni-ti ir-ḫu-uz-ma ina . . . ib . . .*

31 *lugal-e gun-bi gir-mu-na-ma*
32 *šar-ru i-na kap-pi ki-lal-la-an šepa-šu [iš]-kum*
33 *ᶦᵈbura-nuna-ki ᵍⁱuš kug-gi mu-un-na-dir(ig) Nibruᵏⁱ nu-un-da . . .*
34 *i-na pu-rat-ti u-di-tim ellati a-na Nippur ḫa-diš iq-qi-lip-[pu]*
35 *kar-geštin-na-ge mà ne-in-uš ᵈEn-ki mu-un-da-[ǵul(?)]*
36 *ina kar karan-na ᶦᵗelippam um-mid-ma ᶦᶦE-a iḫ-du-u*
37 *BUR-na-ni e-ᵈ en-lil-la-ki am-ma-da-an-tur*
38 *aš-riš a-na bit ᶦᶦEllil i-ru-um-[ma]*
39 *e-kur-za-gín e-ᵈ en-lil-la-ge nindaba(?) (ŠUK-ININNI) sa-ne-in-[dug(?)]*
40 *[i]na e-kur-za-gin bit ᶦᶦEllil nin-da-ba-a [ukin(?)]*
41 *e-kisal-maǵ-e e-kisal ᵈen-lil-la-ge gud udu mi-ni- . . .*
42 *a-na e-kisal-maḫ e-kisal ᶦᶦEllil al-pi im-me-ri . . .*
43 *[lug]al-e ki-lugal-gub u(d)-sud-du-gid šu-mu-ši-[in . . .*
44 *šar-ru i-na šu-bat be-lu-ti-šu a-na ume ru-[qu-ti . . .*
45 *ᵈen-lil-li saǵ-ki laǵ-ga-a-ni mu-un- . . .*
46 *ᶦᶦellil zi-me-šu na-mi-ru-ti it- . . .*
47 *ᵈen]-lil-li ǵul-ǵul-la-ni mu-un- . . .*
48 *ᶦᶦenlil] ḫa-di-iš . . .*
49 *ᵈNin-in-si-na dû an-na nam- . . . [tar(?)]*
50 *ᶦᶦNin-kar-ra-a]k marat ᵈA-nim šim-ta (?) . . .*
51 *. . . diš(?) gi-en ki-en-gi . . .*
52 *. . . ᵐᵃᵗAk[kadi . . .*
53 *mu-un-DI-ni-ib . . .*
    . . . li-iḫ-ta(?) . . .

REVERSE

1 *. . . ur-sag ᵈpa-bil-sag . . .*
2 *. . . qarradu ᶦᶦpa-bil-sag . . .*
3 *. . . -e šu-im-ma-an-dib . . .*
4 *. . . iṣ-bat-ma*
5 *. . . ni gu-da-im-ma-an-[sá . . .*
6 *. . . sa i-mal-ma ṭa-biš . . .*
7 *e-gal-maǵ uš-ki-ǵg-a-ni-šu . . .*
8 *a-na e-gal-maḫ maš-tak na-r[a-mi . . .*
9 *bàr gal maǵ ba-si-in-gar-ri-eš NIG-mi . . .*
10 *ina pa-rak-ki ṣi-ri ra-biš uš-bu-ma*

11 *balag ku(g) ki-àg-ga-ni* ^d*NIN-ŠAR+NUN* . . .

11 *balag ku(g) ki-àg-ga-ni* ^{d}*NIN-ŠAR+NUN* . . .

12 *ba-lam-ga el-la ša i-ra-am-mu* ^{il}*NIN-SAR+NUN* . . .

13 *sir-ku(g) zag-sal la-la-ma(l)-la-ni gù-sil-mi-ni-i[b-bi]*

14 *za-ma-ri el-lu-ti ta-ni-ta ša la-la-a ma-la-a-at i-d[a-al-lal]*

15 *zu-ub ku(g) balag kù-gi šu-mu-un-tag-[ga]*.

16 *ina up-pi ib-bi ba-lam-gi elli u-la-pa-tu-ši*

17 *lagar-ri-a mu-un-na-zi-zi e-ne-ra* ^{d}*nin-in-si-[na]*

18 *kale i-na tak-rib-ti šu-a-ti ša* ^{il}*Nin-kar-ra-ag*

19 *ana* ^{d}*En-lil* ^{d}*En-ki* ^{d}*Nin-maĝ-e mu-un-KU-ma e-[ne]*

20 ^{il}*A-nu* ^{il}*Ellil* ^{il}*E-a u belit ile nu-uḫ-ḫ[u]*

21 ^{d}*Nin-maĝ-e e-gal-maĝ ne-a ki-dur mi-ni-ib-dug-ga-ta*

22 *iš-tu ru-ba-tu ṣir-tu ina e-gal-maḫ šub-ta uš-ṭi-ib-bu*

23 *lugal-e gud mu-un-na-ab-gaz-e udu mu-um-na-ab-šar-ri*

24 *šar-ru alpe u-pa-laq-ši immere u-da-aš-ša-ši*

25 *làl* ^{gil}*kurun ulusin KAŠ+ŠUD mu-un-na-ab-bal-bal-e*

26 *di-iš-pa ka-ra-na u-lu-še-en-na ku-ru-un-na u-nag-ga-ši*

sir-erim ^{d}*nin-in-si-na-ge*

59 $^{(am)}$*mu-bi-im miḫri Nipur*^{ki} *Babili*^{ki}

a-na pi-i dup-pi ša-ṭa-ri ša Nadin ^{il}*Nin-kar-ra-ag mar* ^{il}*Anušat-ba-ni ša-aṭ-rat*

TRANSLATION

1/2 . . . great . . . of Anu and Urash 3/4 goddess Ninsinna, daughter of Anu . . . may she be exalted. 5/6 When she goes forth from her splendid house . . . . 7/8 (to) her land, as the Sun-god surveys it, while he travels westward, 9/10 yearning for the avenues of her city, she makes for her city, 11/12 the spouse of the hero Pa-bil-sag goeth forth with joy, 13/14 (even) the beloved daughter of Damu, the faithful wife of Gunura. 15/16 The good *shedu*-genius follows her to Egalmakh. 17/18 The good *utuk*-genius, father of Ellil, walks on her right. 19/20 The good *lamu*-genius, lord of the divine *E-nam-nir*, walks on her left. 21/22 The Pillar-god, like unto the radiant sky, opens the way for her. 23/24 The divine *Shu-makh*, faithful messenger of *E-gal-makh*, precedes her. 25/26 In order to make clean for her lane and avenue, they are cleaning up the city. 27/28 He goes to the temple of Nippur, "bond of unity between heaven and earth." 29/30 With the festal lambs(?) he bathes, in the sanctuary(?) . . . he purifies(?) . . . 31/32 the king puts both hands on his feet . . . 33/34 from the Euphrates the bright ushu reeds shall joyfully be taken to Nippur. 35/36 With a measure of wine, he has dedicated the vessel. Ea rejoiced . . . . 37/38 humbly he enters

the house of Ellil 39/40 he shall offer(?) Ishtar-cakes in the shining sanctuary of the house of Ellil. 41/42 to the great court, the court of Ellil, oxen and sheep he . . . . 43/44 The King in his royal dwelling for far-off days . . . . 45/46 Ellil his glorious appearance shall . . . . 47/48 Ellil joyfully . . . 49/50 Lady of Isin, daughter of Heaven, . . . fate(?) . . . . 51/52 . . . land of Akkad . . .

<div align="center">REVERSE</div>

1/2 . . . hero *Pabilsag* . . . 3/4 . . . he shall seize . . . 5/6 . . . . he shall fill her . . . graciously(?) . . . 7/8 *Egalmakh* the beloved dwelling . . . 9/10 in the sublime shrine, they shall sit in stately manner. 11/12 On the holy lyre which *NIN-SAR-NUN(?)* . . . likes, 13/14 with sacred psalms, praises which are full of her splendor(?) they worship(?) 15/16 The sacred tambourine(?) the holy lyre they play for her . . . 17/18 the sacred psalmists with this sung litany of the Lady of Isin, 19/20 pacify Anu, Ellil, Ea, and the Great Lady. 21/22 When they have made pleasant the sojourn of the Great Lady in *Egalmakh*, 23/24 the king slaughters for her oxen, and offers to her sheep in abundance; 25/26 he pours out to her libations of honey, wine, *ulusin*-beer, sesame-wine.— Incantation of the Lady of Isin.—The lines thereof are 59, copy (of the text used in) Nippur and Babylon according to the tablet written by *Nadin-Ninkarrak*, son of *Anušat-bani*.

<div align="center">NOTES</div>

Nin-in-si-na means the "Lady of Isin." It is a title of Gula. This is proved by the numerous references to her temple *Egal-makh* "the great palace," her temple in Isin. Cf. Luckenbill, *AJSL*, XXIV (1908), 302.

17/18. That Ellil is the son of an *utukku* is an interesting item. According to the creation-story, the first pair of gods was Labmu and Labamu. In Babylon as in Greece the earliest divinities were chthonian. The Olympians and the sky-gods came later. When Kronos is called the father of Zeus, it means that chronologically Kronos was worshiped before the latter; the same interpretation obtains here; chthonic spirits were worshiped before the "great gods."

19/20. *e-nam-nir*, "house of lordship," a deified temple.

25/26. Very appropriate, since Gula was a goddess of healing.

28. *irṣiti*, read *KI*. Text has *la*, evidently a scribal error.

29/30. The Semitic text says, "he shall wash with the *isittu*," a word which means "festival." The Sumerian text is not clear, but seems to refer to a ceremonial washing of female lambs previous to their sacrifice. One might compare one of the ceremonies of the Eleusinia, when the candidates for initiation bathed in the sea with little pigs which they offered afterward in sacrifice to Demeter.

31/32. *gun* means usually "load."

33/34. *dirig*=קלבא; cf. Muss-Arnolt, pp. 913–14.—The reading *uš* for the ideograph *GI + UŠ* is proved by the Semitic form *uššu* given in *SAI* 1481.—*u-di-tum;* cf. *u-di-it-tum A V* 2466 (a different ideogram). —We may compare this rite to the processions of dendrophorii in the mysteries of Cybele and Attis.

1–6. These lines have been partly reconstituted, with the help of No. 15.

3/4. *me-ur-i-i = na'adu;* cf. Br. 10458; *SAI* 7956.

9/10. *da-di = šananu,* Br. 6689. *šananu* means "to try to reach," hence our translation.

11. *ĝil* is a by-form of *ĝul,* "joy."

12, 16, 18, 20, 24. The variant has *i-lak.*

15. The last sign is *niš* in No. 16; the variant *eš* (No. 15) is better.

39/40. The reading of this ideogram is not known; perhaps it was *nindaba.* Since most words relating to temple worship were of Sumerian origin, we suspect *nindaba* to be a Sumerian loan-word Semiticized, meaning a portion or a gift (*ba*) of food (*ninda*). It is against the laws of language to derive *nindabu* from *nidabu,* but it is easy to see how *nidabu* is derived from *nindabu* by assimilation of *n.*

41. We take the third sign to be a variant of *KISAL* (Br. 5479).

<div align="center">REVERSE</div>

7/8. The meaning *maštaku* for *uš* V (Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 58) is new. Cf. Delitzsch, p. 11, *s.v. am* II.

15/16. *zub* when written with a special ideogram means a kind of "wooden instrument." Cf. Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 226. Is *zu-ub* a phonetic spelling of it? For meaning tambourine for *uppu,* cf. Jensen, *KB,* VI, 1, pp. 391–92; Langdon, *Babyloniaca,* II, 112, *SBP,* p. viii. We should like, however, to suggest for *zub = uppu* the meaning "plectrum," "thumbpiece," and translate "with the sacred plectrum they play on the holy lyre."—*mu-un-tag,* No. 16, has *mu-e-tag.* The variant, No. 15, rev. 1, gives a better form, *mu-un-tag.*

17. For reading *lagar, labar,* cf. Langdon, *Babyloniaca,* II, 112, *SBP,* p. vii, n. 3.

11/12. On *balag,* cf. Delitzsch, *SGl.,* p. 64; Frank, *Stud. z. bab. Rel.,* pp. 230–31; Langdon, *Liturgies,* p. xxxii. A relief depicts a lyre with a bull upon its frame. Cf. *RA,* 9. 89; thus are to be explained Gudea, Cyl. A 28, 17; Reissner, *SBH,* 92a 18.

13/14. End of line restored after K. 6110, res. 4 (Langdon, *Liturgies,* No. 95); Zimmern, *KL,* 200, 16.

25/26. *ulusin* (in Semitic *ulušennu,* evidently a loan-word) is some kind of drink. The reading *ulusin* for the ideogram *KAŠ-AŠ-ŠUD* is given by the Semitic version, and this is made more probable by *SAI,* 3501 where *KAŠ-AŠ-AM* (*ulusin*) = *ulušinnu.* On *ulušennu,* cf. Langdon,

AJSL, XXX, 288–89, where the meaning "pistacea-wine" is proposed.   I doubt whether such a drink can be prepared.[1]

31 ff. The same scribe wrote No. 16 and No. 14 in the same year.   He had been dedicated to Gula, as his father had been to Ninib, her consort.

IV.   AN INCANTATION TO THE LADY OF ISIN

The text of No. 41 (p. 72) is very similar to DT 48 (Craig, *RT*, p. 18), already translated by Martin, *Textes religieux* (1903), p. 71. With the help of DT 48, much can be restored in Ebeling's text.

1   *En ᵈNin-i[n-si-na ama . . . . ge]*
2   *ⁱˡNin-kar-r[a-ak um-mi . . .]*
3   *ᵈNin-ti (DIN)-ug-ga [ama sig-gig-ga-ge]*
4   *ⁱˡNin-ti-ug um-mi ṣal-mat qaq-[qa-di]*
5   *ᵈBa-u tu nam-til-la šub-ba sag-gig-[ga-ge]*
6   *ⁱˡBa-u na-da-at ši-pat ba-la-ṭi a-na ṭi-['-i]*
7   *ᵈDa-mu lu-kud-da-sa-keš-da-ge*
8   *ⁱˡDa-mu bu-a-nu bat-qu i-kaṣ-[ṣa-ru]*
9   *ᵈGu-nu-ra šid-du kalam-ma-ge*
10   *ⁱˡGu-nu-ra pa-qi-da-at ma-a-ti*
11   *ᵈŠu-maḫ agrig E-kur-ra-ge*
12   *ⁱˡŠu-maḫ ab-rak-kat E-kur*
13   *ᵈAma šu-ḫal-bi ama nig-nam-gal-la-ge*
14   *ⁱˡAma-šu-ḫal-bi ummi šik-na-at na-piš-[tim]*
15   *ᵈ[Tu]-ne-in-tu-ba-za sukal-maḫ sag e-gal-mag-[ge]*
16   *ⁱˡTu-ne-in-tu-ba-za suk-kal-lu ṣi-ru ša ki-rib [e-gal-maḫ]*
17   *sag-gig [eme]-gig sag-gig [libiš-gig]*
18   *mu-ru-uṣ qaq-[qa-di mu]-ru-uṣ lišani mu-ru-uṣ lib-bi ki-[iš lib-bi]*

TRANSLATION

1/2   Incantation.   (By) the Lady of Isin, mother of . . .   3/4   (By) *Nin-ti-ug-ga*, mother of the black-headed race,   5/6   (By) *Bau* who throws a life-giving incantation on him whose head wanders,   7/8   (By) *Damu* who joins together the broken limbs,   9/10   (By) *Gunura* who watches over the land,   11/12   (By) *Shu-makh*, overseer of E-kur,   13/14   (By) the Mother *Shu-khal-bi*, mother of those to whom life has been appointed,   15/16   (By) *Tu-ne-in-tu-ba-za*, noble minister who is within *Egalmakh*,   17/18   (let) headache, disease of the tongue, internal disease, insanity . . . (be driven away ?).

[1] Probably *ulušin* is to be derived from עֻרְלְשִׁין, "endives" or "chickory."   In that case *ulušin* would be a beverage resembling coffee.

NOTES

5/6. DT 48 reads šàg ("heart") instead of sag ("head"). May we infer from this that the Sumerian texts of the incantations were committed to memory, and that slight differences of pronunciation, due to consonantal changes, gave rise to this remarkable variant? The Semitic translator of DT 48 translates rightly šàg-gig, ki-iṣ lib-bi, "troubled in his heart," i.e., insane. The Semitic translator of Ebeling's text uses ṭi-'-u, which is not to be translated "erysipelas" (M.A. 348a), but "madness." The root is evidently טָעָה (Heb. and Syr.), "to wander."

7/8. Instead of keš-da, DT 48 has RU-RU (UL-UL), which must have been read kešda.

9/10. The reading šid-du for SID-KAK is probable: šid = paqidu, Delitzsch, SGl., p. 260; du = elu, "to be high," Br. 5252; banu, "to build," Br. 5248; šid-du would then be overseer—more especially the overseer of a building.

11/12. Instead of Šu-maḫ, DT 48 has Ama-šu-maḫ, mother Šu-maḫ. The names of the five attendant genii (utug) of Gula are given in CT, XXIV, 36, 44–48, as ᵈNam-maḫ, ᵈŠu-maḫ, ᵈŠu-ḫal-bi, ᵈTu-ne-in-KA-ba-šag, ᵈNe-in-KA-ša(g). Šu-maḫ and Šu-ḫal-bi are referred to in our text. Tu-ne-in KA-ba-ša(g) is evidently identical with Tu-ne-in-tu-ba-ša(g) (variant za) and it ought to be read accordingly.

15/16. Instead of Tu-ne-in-tu-ba-za, the later text DT 48 had Tu-ne-in-tu-ba-ša(g). This change of z to š, paralleled by the change of s to š in the fifth line, is another trace of the tendency to harden the sibilants in late Sumerian.

17/18. The end of the incantation is lost. It was evidently an order to the diseases enumerated to abandon the patient.

Critical Notes

PRINCE ASHURBÂNIPAL'S READING BOOK AND SOME
RELATED TABLETS

When the contents of Ashurbânipal's library at Nineveh, transferred to the British Museum in London, came to be catalogued, there proved to be some fifty to sixty fragments of closely related texts for which the description "lists of wood or wooden objects" was devised. It was sufficient to indicate their nature roughly. The texts all belonged to a single series which the Assyrian scribes named $\overset{c}{G}AR\text{-}RA = \mathit{ḫubullum}$. There had been at least six tablets in the series, but not one was completely preserved.

Naturally, the first duty was to publish the texts, at any rate those of the larger and better-preserved fragments. Accordingly in the second volume of Sir H. C. Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* two or three fragments were published as "relating to wooden objects." But it was reserved for Friedrich Delitzsch in the third edition of his *Assyrische Lesestücke* (*AL³*), 1885, pages 86–90, to combine all that was then known of the principal tablet and publish it under the above title. How far the work was due to Delitzsch's own copies and how much he was indebted to the copies sent him by George Smith are not easy to decide, but it was a masterly effort to reconstruct and restore the full text from all the available sources. These were about eight fragments of at least four different tablets, each of which once contained a separate copy of the text of the fourth tablet of the series.

This edition did not indicate in every case what was the "class-mark" or registration number of the fragment from which variants of the text were quoted. G. Smith apparently sent copies from fragments then still unnumbered. But these publications enabled Dr. C. Bezold in his great *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum* to recognize a number of the fragments; and in his fifth volume, page 2093, he was able to assign eighteen fragments to the $\overset{c}{G}AR\text{-}RA = \mathit{ḫubullum}$ series. Many of these, of course, were from other tablets of the series. He displayed some hesitation about a number more which he described as "explanatory lists of names of various kinds of wood and wooden objects" (V, 2096–97).

In April, 1898, I was led to copy all these fragments, to point out a number of "joins," and to make many additions to my copy of the *Assyrische Lesestücke*. I did not carry this study farther then, because I expected that the appearance of the fifth and index volume of the *Catalogue* would largely

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augment the lists I had been able to draw up for myself by perusing the earlier volumes. Also I became aware that Dr. Br. Meissner was working at similar texts and I did not like to "queer his pitch" or forestall his results. He soon published some of his copies in a valuable *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* and made use of the results of further study in his *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, 1906.

More recently, in his *Assyriologische Studien*, published from time to time in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, and last in his *Assyriologische Forschungen*, I (1916), Dr. Br. Meissner has been able, with the help of duplicates not in the British Museum, to reconstruct and restore the larger part of the third and fifth tablets of the series and to identify a fragment of the sixth.

There are several other closely related series about which much may be said. But not a little can be added to the results already obtained for the tablet named above, by Smith, Delitzsch, and Meissner. In this article I propose solely to point out what additions I have noted.

In constructing a standard text for a critical edition of a work existing in several copies, it is a great advantage when, as in our case, the copies do not deviate except in such small matters as various spellings or different arrangement of lines. The order was the same throughout for all copies. Further, they all began and ended alike. This was absolutely necessary, because each tablet was quoted by its first line and carried as its last line the "catch-line" which was also the first line of the next tablet of the series. But the duplicates might arrange the intervening lines differently as to their columns.

Thus, if we call the tablet K4338a, given by Delitzsch, duplicate A; and the tablet K2016a, referred to by him, duplicate B, we may note that while A had 70 lines in its first column and 72 distinct entries (for there are double entries in lines 24, 66), B had at least 80 entries and to all appearance 80 lines. This divergence naturally increases as the columns succeed in order, till the sixth column of B begins with the line 32 on the sixth column of A. Further, while A has crowded 92 entries into its last column, B leaves 16 or more lines to be occupied by the full colophon which Delitzsch quotes, *AL³*, page 90. This lack of agreement as to number of lines *per* column is a hindrance to the recognition of the place to which a fragment is to be assigned.

It will be observed that *AL³*, page 86, makes up the first column practically complete. The duplicates, in fact, add little. Meissner, *SAI*, 4268, rightly concludes that I.18a has lost nothing, but one duplicate adds *u* at the end of *ut-tu-* . . . It must be clear that fragments which might complete Ib or the Semitic part of the first column would not be entered in the *Catalogue* as "lists of wood or wooden objects," because they would lack the "determinative of wood"—*GIŠ*. They could not be so entered because there was then no reason to suppose that the Semitic words preserved had any relation to the ideograms in Ia.

In I.46a, Delitzsch pointed out that the scribe evidently had before him in his original *GIŠ-BA-KIN* where we might expect *GIŠ-BA-ŠÍK*. He apparently wrote *KIN* without scruple, but altered it to *ŠÍK*, or perhaps wrote *ŠÍK* as being in use in his day, but altered to *KIN* in deference to his original. He clearly copied his original faithfully in lines 64, 65. The duplicates all give *ŠÍK* for *KIN*. That *KIN* (or *SI-KI*) was used where we usually find *ŠÍK* is now certain from the "Yale Syllabary," No. 174, page 88, in A. T. Clay's *Yale Oriental Series*, Vol. I. But otherwise the six duplicates add nothing beyond orthographical variants to the first column.

The second column evidently devoted its first 60 lines, according to Delitzsch's numeration, to the theme *GIŠ-GU-ZA*, begun in the last 4 lines of the first column. There is not much difficulty in conjecturing the Semitic entries in II*b* which answer to the lines II*a*, 1-11, as preserved on A. B put the corresponding lines at the end of its first column and must have started its second column with what was once preserved on A, II.14. Unfortunately that is lost and no duplicate restores it. The inadequacy of what A, as Delitzsch left it, yields may be judged from the fact that it furnished only three entries to Brünnow's *Sign List*—Nos. 11157, 11158, 11160. Of these only the last is correct. The first should be *a-rat-ti-tum*, the next *ka-bit-tum*. Meissner, *SAI*, 8528, would give II.6*b* as *tar . . . . ,* but it is really *kud-di-ni-tum*. Line 2 should be *GIŠ GU-ZA ZAG-BI-UŠ* = (*kussi*) *ni-me-di*. The Semitic of line 1 is not found yet. In Column II, lines 7-11 read thus:

> 7. *GIŠ GU-ZA GÌD* = *ša ḫar-ra-ni*
> 8. "   "   " *NIM-MA-KI* = *pal-ti-qu*
> 9. "   " *UŠ*   = *ša zi-ka-ri*
> 10. "   " *SAL*   = *ša sin-niš-ti*
> 11. "   " *TER*   = *ša kiš-ti*

The duplicate A gives only slight traces of the last entry, but, once known from other fragments, they are easily made out.

After this we have many claimants to the places left vacant on A in Delitzsch's edition. He was surely right in placing the fragment published II.R.46, No. 7 somewhere in this column, but wrong in putting in lines 20-26. Hence it is an error to quote its entries as those of K4378a, II.20-26, as has frequently been done. Bezold in his *Catalogue*, page 2237, does not record its identification. K12060 is a duplicate which enables us to restore somewhat as follows:

> *GIŠ GU-ZA . . . . -BA*   = *kussu ḫu- . . . .*
> "   " *ANŠU*   = "   *i-me-ri*
> "   " *ŠAG-ZAG-MA*   = *na-ad . . . .*
> "   " *GIŠ-KIN-TI*   = *ku-us-su . . . .*
> "   " *GIŠ-MÀ-KAN-NA* = *ma-ak-kan-nu-u*
> "   " *GIŠ-ME-LUG-GA* = *me-luḫ-ḫu-u*

GIŠ GU-ZA MÀ-LÁĜ = *ša ma-laḫ-ḫi*
   "   "   . . . . -*NA* = *ku-us-si bu-* . . . .
   "   "   *SÁ-KUD* =   "   *da-a-ia-ni*

It will at once occur to my readers to conclude that K12060 cannot be the source of II.R.46, No. 7, for the editor would surely have given more of its text, but the restorations are certainly worth having. They must fall after line 12 and before line 34.

It is remarkable that the traces on A, as given by Delitzsch, show that his lines 34 and 35 began with *GIŠ GU-ZA*, but that lines 36–42 began with *GIŠ* followed by a ditto sign. More than one duplicate begins its entries in the same way, but it is not absolutely certain whether the ditto sign stands for *GU-ZA* or for a longer phrase. But, with this reserved for the present, we can restore lines 36–62 as follows:

36. *GIŠ* ditto *KÙ BABBAR GAR-RA*   = ...
37.   "   "   *URUDU*   = ...
38.   "   "   *ZABAR*   = ...
39.   "   "   *GIŠ KÍN*   = ...
40.   "   "   *ZU-SI-MES*   = ...
41.   "   "   *KAR* . . . .   = ...
42.   "   *GU-ZA KAR-AN-*   = ...
43.   "   "   *GIŠ A-TU-GAB-LIŠ*   = *ša ṣa-ar-bat-tú*
44.   "   "   "   *KU*   = *ša ur-ka-ri-in-ni*
45.   "   "   "   *KAL*   = *ša ú-ši-i*
46.   "   "   "   *ĜA-LU-ÚB*   = *ša ḫa-lu-up-pi*
47.   "   "   "   *ŠÀ-KAL*   = *ša šak-kul-ti*
48.   "   "   "   *MES-MÀ-KAN-NA* = *ša mu-suk-ka-nu*
49.   "   "   "   *KA-AM-SI*   = *ša sin-ni pi-i-ri*
50.   "   "   "   *ŠÚ-KA-Ê-RÚ-A* = ...
51.   "   "   "   *KARATIN-Ê-RÚ-A* = ... ditto
52.   "   "   "   *KA-RÚ-Ê-RÚ-A* = *e-rim-ti* ditto

The duplicates are not exact; one seems to have left out line 43 altogether, and my copy gives a different entry in another line. But, such as they are, they may be useful. Possibly someone may have come across other duplicates. The remainder of Col. II as on A is not affected by the duplicates which I have seen.

Column III.1 began with *GIŠ ŠU-A* as did lines 64–72 of Col. II. But, so far, I know of no suggestions for lines 2–16, which are absent from all the duplicates. But someone may know of a list beginning *GIŠ ŠU-A*. Col. III. 17–42 can now be restored as follows:

17. *GIŠ NA AM-ZI-GA* = *iršu* . . . . *ri ša ša-ša-ri*
18.   "   "   *ZI-GA*   = *um-mul-tum*
19.   "   "   *KU-A*   = ditto

20.	*GIŠ NA Ú* ditto *KARATIN*	=	*ir-ṣu ur-ba-ti*
21.	" " *SAG KARATIN*	=	" *aš-li*
22.	" " *DUBBIN*	=	" *ṣu-up-ri*
23.	" " " *GUD*	=	" *ṣu-pur al-pi*
24.	" " " *NIN*	=	" *ṣu-pur-šu mim-ma*
25.	" " *SÌG-GA ṢU-AG-A*	=	" *ša bu-sik-ki*
26.	" " *ŠÀ-TAG*	=	" *še-'-at*
27.	" " *ŠÀ-TAG KIN-GA ṢU-AG-A*	=	" *ša bu-sik-ki* "
28.	" " " " *ŠÍG-GA* " " "	=	" *ša šar-ti en-zi* "
29.	" " *SIS-UNU-KI GA-DAM-TA*	=	" *mu-tak-ma-tum*
30.	" " " " " " " "	=	*muḫ-ḫu-uš-tum*
31.	" " " " "	=	*U-ri-tum*
32.	" " *ARI-KI*	=	*Ak-ka-di-tum*
33.	" " *KA-MUŠ*	=	*ir-šu ka-muš-ša-ku*
34.	" *SAG-AN-DUL-NA*	=	*ki-ti . . . . ir-ši*
35.	" " "	=	" "
36.	" " "	=	" "
37.	" *ZAL-DA-* "	=	*par-ri-kat* "
38.	" *SAG-* "	=	*pu-u-tu* "
39.	" *SAG-* "	=	*kil-tu* "
40.	" *EN-* "	=	*bel-lum* "
41.	" *MES-* "	=	*a-mar-tu*
42.	" *DUBBIN-* "	=	*ṣu-up-ru*

These results are due to comparison of four duplicates. They are not entirely consistent, but put their entries in different orders. The fragment which Delitzsch put in this column and which Meissner, *SAI, passim,* quotes as K4338*a,* III. 14–26, would really be III. 25–39 if it lay on A, but it is really K8217 and part of B. Such variants as *ša-rat* for *šarti* or *mu-ḫu-uš-tum* for *muḫ-ḫu-uš-tum* do not amount to much. But it may be worth noting that for *SIS-UNU-KI* in lines 29, 30, one duplicate gives ARI-KI (or BUR-BUR-KI) as in line 31 and for *GA* puts *MAL* or *GÁ.* From line 43 to line 72 the third column as given in Delitzsch's edition has little need of restoration. Meissner, *SAI,* 5731–38, has booked what Brünnow was not able to register.

From Delitzsch's edition of A it might be concluded from line 3 in Col. IV that the ideogram with which the column began, but which was lost from the first 2 lines and replaced in lines 4 and 5 by a ditto sign, really commenced with *GIŠ-KA* . . . . but neither Brünnow nor Meissner was able to exploit the first 5 lines. We may restore them thus:

1.	*GIŠ KA-ŠÚ-KAT*	= . . . .
2.	" " " " *GIŠ-KAL*	= *ša ú-ši-i*
3.	" " " " *GIŠ-MES*	= *ša mi-e-si*
4.	" " " " *KA-AM-SI-DUN-DUN* = *ša šin-ni pi-ri*
5.	" " " " " " " *SI-GA*	= " *uḫ-ḫu-zi*

One duplicate makes two lines out of line 4 and two more out of line 5, as they were too long to write in one line. A avoids this by writing a ditto sign after *GIŠ* in lines 4 and 5 to replace *KA-ŠÚ-KAT*. Which of the values already registered for this ideogram was here placed in IV.1.*b* no duplicate shows, but it is unwise to speculate. A admits of no addition to this column from line 6 to line 20, but the next 8 lines are very uncertain. In line 27 we have *GIŠ SI-SI I-DIB = ḫu-ú-ḳu;* the ideogram in line 28 also ended in *I-DIB* and was explained as *la-ku-ú*. In the following lines the duplicates are at variance. The signs read *BUGIN* and *BUNIN* in Brünnow's *Sign List* are easily mistaken, and, rightly or not, the duplicates confuse them. But, subject to some reserve as to these signs, we may restore lines 29–46 as follows:

29.	*GIŠ BUGIN*			= *bu-nin-nu*
30.	*GIŠ BUGIN*			= *bu-gin-nu*
31.	*GIŠ BUGIN*			= *su-us-sul-lu*
32.	*GIŠ BUGIN-GAL*			= *ra-bu-ú*
33.	"	"	*TUR*	= *ṣa-aḫ-ru*
34.	"	"	*MES-BAR-RA*	= *muḫ-ḫu-ṣu*
35.	"	"	*KUD-DA*	= *kud-du*
36.	"	"	*ŠÚ-G̊A*	= *ša ba-i-ri*
37.	"	"	*KIT-NI-UŠ*	= *ta-pa-lu*
38.	"	*KU-GAZ*		= *e-šit-tum*
39.	"	"	"	*ŠE*	= " *še-im*
40.	"	"	"	*ŠE GIŠ-NI*	= " *ša-maš-šam-me*
41.	"	"	"	*ZÙ-LUM-MA*	= " *su-lup-pi*
42.	"	"	"		= *ma-dak-ku*
43.	"	"	"		= *ka-ak ma-dak-ki*
44.	"	*KAN-NA*			= *bu-kan-nu*
45.	"	. . . .			= *su-up-pi-in-nu*
46.	"	. . . .			= " *i-tin-ni*

Meissner copied K8239 for his *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* and exploited its entries for *SAI*, 2378–2400. Other duplicates show that this fragment gave Col. IV. 51–71. The ends of the two lines given by Delitzsch, page 89, are the remains of the last two entries on A Col. IV. 72–73, but are actually on B.

In the fifth column, Delitzsch was able to give a complete text for lines 1-43. The duplicates merely add a few variants. One can fill up lines 44–65 so far as the ideograms are concerned, but the Semitic equivalents are lost for the most part. The last five lines of this column and the first line of the next may be restored thus:

68.	*GIŠ MÁ NISAG*	= *ni-sa-an-ni*
69.	" " *KI-ÁG EN-LIL-KI*	= *ta-ram Ni-ip-pu-ri*

70. *GIŠ MÁ KI-ÁG SIS-UNU-KI* = " " *Ú-ri*
71. " " " " *DÚG-GAR-KI* = " " . . . .
72. " " " " *KÊŠ-KI* = " " *Ki-e-ši*
VI.1. " " " " *KIŠ-KI* = " " *Ki-ši*

Meissner, *SAI*, 6168, 8350, has exploited some of these results as he did one variant of Col. VI.2 in *SAI*, 4035.

With respect to the sixth column it must be noted that A crowds 92 entries into this column, while B has only 60 lines. No two copies arranged their entries alike in columns. But they maintained the same order of entries. The nearest conclusion is that the whole text registered in all 72+72+72+72+72+92 entries, or 452. Many duplicates show the beginnings or ends of lines alongside those portions sufficiently preserved to be useful. Had the lengths of columns always been the same, these traces might have helped to fix the place of more fragments. But, to take one example only, Col. II.5 is on the same level as Col. I.5 on A, while Col. II.49 is on the same level as Col. I.45 on B.

Delitzsch gave a complete column down to line 38 (entry 44) and then from line 50 (entry 55) to line 75 (entry 92). We can complete from duplicates all the ideograms, but can give no Semitic equivalents.

For the whole text the duplicates give 83 new entries and complete 28 of those already partly known, thus adding about one-fifth. Some day I may have the opportunity to publish the fragments in full. It does not seem worth while here to record mere variants nor set down unexplained ideograms.

C. H. W. JOHNS

ST. CATHERINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

STUDIES IN HEBREW ROOTS AND THEIR ETYMOLOGY

I

בִּשֵּׁק ,שִׁקַק ,שׁוּק

The three roots שׁוּק, שִׁקַק, and בִּשֵּׁק were hardly distinguished in post-biblical and talmudic times when confusion of roots was the outstanding feature in biblical exegesis.[1] Menaḥem ben Saruk, the champion of the biliteral (and also uniliteral) theory of Hebrew roots, throws them all together under שׁק[2]; and even Ḥayyuj, the iconoclast of the biliteral fad, still confuses words whose origin is שׁוּק with those whose origin is שִׁקַק.[3] Ibn

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[1] On violations in the Septuagint cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, p. 200. Confusion of roots is also rampant in the minor Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as pointed out in my "Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila," *JQR* (New Series), IV, 578 ff. As to Talmud and Midrash cf. Bacher, *Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik*, p. 6; see also Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, pp. 69 ff.

[2] מחברת מנחם, ed. Filipowski, p. 179.

[3] *The Weak and Geminative Verbs in Hebrew*, ed. Jastrow, p. 268 of the Arabic text. Even וַתִּשַּׁק Job 31:27 is included in this group!

Ganaḥ is the first to distinguish the three,[1] and he is followed by Kimḥi,[2] who in turn is followed by all modern lexicographers.[3] But, while this root classification was effected, the etymology and consequently the meaning of these words remained obscure. Thus שׁוֹק was persistently compared with Arab. ساق "drive, impel, urge," from which is derived שׁוֹק=ساق "leg,"[4] until Barth[5] and Brockelmann[6] suggested شاق "long, desire," which covers completely the Hebr. תְּשׁוּקָה.[7] As to שׁקק, already Ibn Ganaḥ associated it with Arab. شَقّ in the sense of "walking to and from, perambulating,"[8] and this has been adopted by all lexicographers, both old and new, who in addition compare שׁוֹק=ساق "leg," hence "walking."[9] Finally, מֶשֶׁק is either left without an etymology[10] or else made to correspond to מֶשֶׁק=مسك in the sense "to possess."[11]

The purpose of this article is to subject these roots to a new investigation through an examination of the passages in which they occur. Starting with Prov. 28:15, אֲרִי נֹהֵם וְדֹב שׁוֹקֵק, we see at a glance that שׁוֹקֵק, being parallel to נֹהֵם, must signify something akin to it, something in the nature of emitting a sound, and not, as is generally assumed, "walking to and from." Now, if we consult the Arabic lexicon, we find that شَقّ, the very same root which Ibn Ganaḥ adduces s.v., besides many other significations, also has the meaning "to spread in the sky (of lightning),"[12] hence to

[1] *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. Neubauer, s.vv.

[2] סֵפֶר הַשֳּׁרָשִׁים, ed. Biesenthal and Lebrecht, s.vv.

[3] Cf., e.g., Gesenius-Buhl, Brown-Driver-Briggs, König, etc.

[4] Notably Brown-Driver-Briggs and Gesenius-Buhl[13], s.v.

[5] *Etymologische Studien*, p. 46.

[6] *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, I, 167.

[7] We must not be too scrupulous with reference to the irregular equation شّ-שׁ, especially in the face of such old and well-established words as חַשֵׁשׁ-شَمْس-שֶׁמֶשׁ, شَقَر-שָׁקַר, حَشِيش-שַׁרֶשׁ, etc. Barth has proved (*loc. cit.*) that such discrepancies from the accepted rule will arise in the case of words with sibilants (especially in triliteral roots with two sibilants); similarly Vollers (*ZFA*, IX, 197, 209) and Jahuda (*JQR*, XV, 708). I am convinced that the current equations of the sibilants in the Semitic languages require recasting, and, unless this is done, biblical exegesis will not make much headway.

[8] In his *Kitāb al-Mustalḥik* (*Opuscules*, ed. Derenbourg, pp. 234 ff.) Ibn Ganaḥ defends the geminate nature of שׁוּקַק בֵּן בְּעִיר יִשֹּׁקֵר .כַּמְשֹׁק גָבִים , etc., against the detractors of Ḥayyuj, adding to these also יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן בָּרְחֹבוֹת and giving them all the meaning "crush, oppress." However, in his *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (ed. Neubauer, cols. 742 f.) he suggests also another meaning, "walking to the right and to the left," akin to the Arabic اشتقّ الفرس في علوه.

[9] This ambiguity was common to Ibn Ezra and Kimḥi, and it still prevails in our commentaries and lexica.

[10] As in most modern lexica.   [11] Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s.v. מֶשֶׁק.

[12] Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1576, col. 2: "It [the lightning] extended high, into the midst of the sky, without going to the right and left."

thunder, or at any rate to emit some kind of a noise. Furthermore, شَقْشَقَ الكَلَمَ = "he uttered, or pronounced, speech in the best manner,"[1] and شَقْشَقَ = "he neighed (of a stallion) or uttered a cry (of a sparrow)."[2] There is also the testimony of a manuscript supposed to be the *Jami'* of El-Karmanee that the primary meaning of شَقْشَقَة is "loudness of voice," or the "being loud in voice."[3] Applying this meaning to the passage in question, we at once get an excellent parallelism: "As a roaring lion and a howling bear is a wicked ruler over a poor people." The same meaning fits very well Nah. 2:5, בַּחוּצוֹת יִתְהוֹלְלוּ הָרֶכֶב יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן בָּרְחֹבוֹת : "The chariots rage in the streets, they reverberate (like thunders) in the broad ways," giving an unexpected vividness to the picture.[4] It is in the nature of the poet who portrays an action in two immediate but independent clauses either to keep up the same tone or else to ascend in the second phrase, so as to complete the thought and round out the action.[5] Such, e.g., is the very next picture in the same sentence where the chariots are compared first with torches and then with lightnings. But such an upward graduation is lacking in our current translations, "rage" being more intense than "run to and from," while "reverberate" restores the proper balance. Similarly Isa. 33:4, כְּמַשַּׁק גֵּבִים שֹׁקֵק בּוֹ , should be rendered "like the buzzing of the locusts will it buzz in their midst"[6] (*scil.* in the midst of the nations), presaging confusion and distress, in keeping with the preceding sentence. Finally, Joel 2:9, בָּעִיר יָשֹׁקּוּ = "they shall shout in the city"; the following בַּחוֹמָה יְרֻצּוּן , it is evident, precludes the current rendering "run to and from."[7]

That this interpretation has not only an etymological, but also a traditional, basis may be seen from the fact that the Targum translates in a like manner in at least two of the four passages;[8] that Rashi, the coryphaeus of

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[1] Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon,* p. 1576, col. 3.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 1577, col. 2.

[3] *Ibid.* It is not impossible that the common meaning of this root, "break," "split," is secondary and derived from the primary, "utter a noise," since a noise is produced in splitting or breaking. This, indeed, is evident in such expressions as وانشقّ القمر Koran 54:1 and اذا السماء انشقّت *ibid.,* 84:1.

[4] Notice the appropriateness of an echo in broad ways.

[5] Cf. Rothstein, *Grundzüge des hebräischen Rhythmus,* pp. 51 ff.

[6] Noise in a lesser degree, just as נהם is used in various degrees: of the raging of the sea, of the roaring of the lion, and of the groaning of the afflicted (cf. lexica, *s.v.*).

[7] Cf. Rothstein, *loc. cit.*

[8] To Prov.: קל נקרש זיניהון משתמע . and to Nah.: אריא נהם ודובא מצריח ברחובי . In the latter case he certainly confused it with נשק "weapon," as may be seen from his rendering in Isa.: ואזן במאני זינא כמא דאזן בזירקרתא and Joel: בקרתא מדינין ; nevertheless it is significant that he felt obliged to introduce the element of voice.

Jewish exegetes, does so in all the four passages;[1] and, finally, that Ibn Ganaḥ mentions the possibility of דֹב שׁוֹקֵק being something akin to אֲרִי נֹהֵם.[2]

I am inclined to class here also Gen. 15:2, וּבֶן־מֶשֶׁק בֵּיתִי, and make it correspond to מַשָּׁק גִּבִּים, treated above. This word, pointed as a segholate,[3] is naturally derived from an imaginary מֶשֶׁק, for which there is no analogy in the Semitic languages.[4] But already Ibn Ezra felt the necessity of classing it under the geminate verbs,[5] without, it is true, finding a satisfactory meaning. Now شَقّ, or rather شَقْشَقَ, "utter, converse," gives rise in Arabic to an expression ذُو شَقْشَقَة, "one speaking fluently," "a spokesman,"[6] analogous to the Aram. דברנא or מדברנא, "spokesman," event, "representative, leader."[7] We might therefore point מַשָּׁק[8] and render "the spokesman (or leader) of my house."

Different from these is the expression נֶפֶשׁ שׁוֹקֵקָה which occurs in Isa. 29:8 and Ps. 107:9. Its meaning is so evident from the context (|| נֶפֶשׁ רְעֵבָה) that all commentators and lexicographers agree in translating it by "longing." But its etymology has always been a matter of speculation. However, admitting, as we must, that it is akin to תְּשׁוּקָה in meaning, it likewise should be derived from שׁוּק=شَاق "long, desire," and not, as is generally the case, from שׁוּק=شَقّ.[9] Accordingly, שׁוֹקֵק is a participle of the type Pôl'ēl and, like רוֹמֵם קוֹמֵם, בוֹתֵת, represents the Pî'ēl and is intensive.[10] This construction is very appropriate: the longing

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[1] To Prov.: נהימה לארי ושקיקה לדוב שניהם לשון צעקה; to Nah. and Joel: ל' נהם; to Isa.: ל' השמעת קול.

[2] *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. Neubauer, col. 743: وربما كان معنى اخر مجانسا لقوله אֲרִי נֹהֵם.

[3] So, already, the Septuagint whose Μασεκ=מֶשֶׁק. Contrast, however, Aquila's ὁ υἰὸς τοῦ ποτίζοντος οἰκίαν μου, implying מַשְׁקֶה־מֶשֶׁק. The other two translators (Symmachus: ὁ δὲ συγγενὴς τοῦ οἴκου μου, and Theodotion: ὁ υἰὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας μου) are noncommittal.

[4] The etymon مشق, which is treated further, below, apparently has nothing in common with this word.

[5] Cf. his commentary *ad loc.*: והוא מפעלי הכפל מגזרת שוקק בן.

[6] Lane's *Lexicon*, p. 1579, col. 1.

[7] Cf. especially b. Sanh. 14a and Ket. 17a: מדברנא דאומתיה, "leader of his people." That דבר "lead" and דבר "speak" are cognates with a derivative meaning has been demonstrated by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 313) and others.

[8] As pointed out above (n. 3), Aquila's ποτίζων points to the pronunciation with pathaḥ. Perhaps the same reading underlies the Targum: רבר פרנסא, followed by Rashi.

[9] Probably due to its similarity with דֹב שׁוֹקֵק.

[10] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammar²⁸*, Eng. transl., § 72m, pp. 197 f.

of the thirsty being more intense than that of the hungry, an intensive verb is employed.

The third root of the series, מֶשֶׁק, underlies Zeph. 2:9, מִמְשַׁק חָרוּל וּמִכְרֵה־מֶלַח, as generally recognized. But what is the meaning of מִמְשַׁק? The Jewish commentators are too vague and ambiguous to deserve credence.[1] The ancient versions render no help.[2] Modern exegetes translate "possession, place of possession," without adducing a cognate etymon or satisfying the context.[3] Graetz's emendation to קְמוֹשׁ[4] upsets the parallelism with מִכְרֵה. Schwally makes it synonymous with Arab. مَنْبِت, "place of growth,"[5] which again is only a guess. I would suggest Arab. مشق, which, as a term of agriculture, is explained by Dozy as follows: "remuer légèrement la terre autour des racines des plantes avec un قلوم, c.-à-d., avec un instrument qui est pioche d'un côté et hache de l'autre, piocher légèrement."[6] מִמְשַׁק is thus nom. loc. of מֶשֶׁק, "cut, dig," and signifies "ditch," an appropriate parallel to מִכְרֵה "pit." Translate, therefore, "ditches of chickpeas and pits of salt."[7]

<div style="text-align:right">JOSEPH REIDER</div>

DROPSIE COLLEGE

[1] Ibn Ezra, like all modern exegetes, associates it with רבן משק ביתי: Rashi renders ישׁ מפרשׁים like השׁמעת קול: Kimḥi likewise in his *Lexicon* under משק גבים. but in his commentary *ad loc.*: פירושׁו לפי מקומו מוצא החרולים כלומ׳ שׁיצמחו שׁם מפני החרבן.

[2] Δαμασκος of the Septuagint shows that it was no longer understood in those days and that the translators simply tried to help themselves.

[3] The equation מֶשֶׁךְ = مسك = מֶשֶׁק "possess." which was invented primarily as an explanation of רבן משק ביתי. while possible in itself, is not probable in our case, since it does not furnish smoother sense and, moreover, fails to satisfy the parallel in the context.

[4] *Emendationes*, ed. Bacher, *ad loc.*

[5] *ZAW*, X (1890), 188 f.

[6] *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, II, 594.

[7] Something like this underlies the Targum (and the Peshitta) משׁמט מלחין וּמחפורין דמלח. משׁמט being a parallel to וּמחפורין and signifying "hiding-place, lurking hole, or recess" (Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Targumim, s.v.* מלותא).

Book Reviews

TEXTS FROM THE YALE BABYLONIAN COLLECTION

The interest of students was aroused some time ago by the publication of the first of a series of volumes which are to give to the Assyriological world the philological and archaeological material of the Babylonian collection gathered during the past few years by Professor Clay for Yale University.[1] In this first volume are presented "texts of a miscellaneous character, covering a period between four and five thousand years. There are historical texts, votive and building inscriptions, a dynastic list, date-lists, a tablet containing the most ancient laws known, a fragment of the Hammurabi Code, and also a boundary stone, a mortuary inscription, a syllabary, etc."

A collection of texts of this kind usually furnishes us a new batch of names of rulers who presented votive offerings to this or that god for the life of so-and-so. This volume is no exception to the rule, so we now have a good many more dry bones to rattle. Nevertheless the historian will find much in the volume that is worth his while. Although they raise new questions, such texts as Nos. 26 (Year Date-list of Amar-Sin), 32 (The Larsa Dynastic List), and 33 (Date-list of Babylon's Rule over Larsa) have done much toward unraveling the tangle of dynasties of the latter half of the third millennium B.C. The Sumerian prototype of the Hammurabi Code (No. 28) throws most welcome light upon the evolution of Babylonian law. It is too bad that the fragment of the Hammurabi Code (No. 34) is so small. This copy seems to have been the work of a very careless copyist—I find two lines missing in Col. 2. The Yale Syllabary (No. 53) is a feast for the lexicographer. It looks as if this and the Chicago Syllabary were "pages" from the same dictionary. Texts Nos. 46–51 furnish the author occasion for remarks on the Babylonian Sabbath. Whether Professor Clay's interpretation of these interesting texts is correct remains to be seen. Here we find a rather characteristic reference to "the critical position" which the author declares "is simply a hypothesis, and cannot be proved." Elsewhere (p. 44) we are told that—

not a few scholars place no dependence on the historical value of the coalition of the kings mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, but since the many discoveries which have a bearing upon this part of the chapter referring to foreign political affairs verify the data set forth in it; and, on the other hand, since not a single discovery in any way has impaired its accuracy, the only reasonable

[1] *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection.* By A. T. Clay. New Haven, 1915. Pp. viii+108. 55 plates.

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conclusion is that its statements, until proved incorrect, must be utilized in the reconstruction of the history of the period, especially if they synchronize with what is fact.

The fact that a hypothesis is brought forward by a "critic" is enough to damn it in the eyes of Professor Clay.

But there is another hypothesis, which receives much more respectful (and generous) attention in the volume—namely, the author's own "Amurru" hypothesis. This hypothesis, we are told in the Preface, met "with opposition on the part of some scholars. . . . . Some have accepted the theory, while those who have not done so, have advanced little more than categorical assertions that it is baseless." If this is so, then the author of the hypothesis is receiving a dose of his own medicine. But the reviewer fails to see any "opposition" on the part of scholars to the Amurru hypothesis. If they are not convinced, there is no reason for attributing this to any hardness of heart or head. The man who puts forward a hypothesis must convince scholars working in the same field that his hypothesis accounts for the facts better than any other hypothesis. To the reviewer the trouble seems to lie in the *kind* of evidence upon which the Amurru hypothesis was based. This new volume is full of the same kind of evidence as that adduced in *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites.* If we could show on the *basis of etymologies* that every god known later in Babylonia came from Amurru we should still be far short of having proved that the Semites had developed anything worthy the name of culture before they entered Babylonia.

One need not stop to say that texts copied by Professor Clay are well done. A number of errors crept into the book, but most of these have already been noticed by other scholars and collected on slips of "errata" by the author. We shall all be waiting eagerly for the next volume. The reviewer hopes that the "epics, hymns, and liturgies" in the Yale collection will soon be published.

<div style="text-align: right">D. D. LUCKENBILL</div>

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A SUMMARY OF TALMUDIC ETHICS[1]

The '*En Jacob* is a Hebrew work compiled by Jacob ibn Chabib, a Spanish Jew, who was expelled from Spain in 1492 and settled in Saloniki. It contains all the aggadic, or moral and didactic, portions of the Babylonian Talmud, arranged in the order of their occurrence in the separate tractates of the Talmud. The purpose of the compiler was to exhibit the profound ethical spirit and character of talmudic literature, and thus to defend the Talmud and Judaism against the calumnies of Jewish apostates. The work was first published in 1516 and at once became popular. It has since

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[1] *En Jacob, Agada of the Babylonian Talmud, by Rabbi Jacob ibn Chabib, revised and translated into English.* Vol. I. Edited by Rabbi S. H. Glick. New York: Glick, 5676 (1916). 247 pages.

appeared in many editions, each with a steadily increasing mass of notes and commentaries.

The present edition is the first published in this country and the first ever to appear with an English translation. Only the first volume has thus far been printed, containing the aggadic portions of the first three sections of the Talmud. The entire work, when completed, will probably consist of five volumes.

The editor, Rabbi S. H. Glick, of New York City, has stated frankly in his preface that his purpose in preparing this edition and translation is to enable the Jewish youth of America to study conveniently one of the classics of mediaeval Hebrew literature and, by familiarizing themselves with the ethical and spiritual teachings of Judaism as set forth in this work, to become imbued with love and zeal for the religion of their fathers. It is a commendable purpose, yet hardly qualified to subserve scientific interests. The present work is scientific neither in character nor in execution. The English is frequently faulty and uncolloquial, and numerous inaccuracies and errors exist, both in Hebrew text and translation. Not infrequently considerable portions of the original are omitted without apparent reason, and, again, passages that appear in the Hebrew text are untranslated in the accompanying English version. The notes also are too elementary and inadequate to satisfy the needs of either Jewish or non-Jewish student. Nevertheless the work is not without some value for the student of talmudic literature who is still inexperienced in the peculiar talmudic phraseology and dialectic. To such it may be commended as a useful help. And even a cursory reading of the English translation should give some understanding of the ethical character and teachings of Judaism and also furnish homiletical material of spiritual beauty and value in the form of stories from the rabbis, hitherto inaccessible to English readers.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE
CINCINNATI, OHIO

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ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

A real Arabic lexicon is a vision whose realization none of those now living dares hope for in his lifetime. Preliminary labors and studies were, indeed, increasing at a most promising rate, until the great catastrophe of 1914 made a sharp break in this, as in so many other promises.

The nearest approach to a modern Arabic lexicon is still the product of Lane's prodigious labors; this may be said, in spite of its incompleteness, without disparaging the work of Freytag and Dozy. It is a young English scholar who, so far as the knowledge of the reviewer reaches in the present troubled state of affairs, has made the latest contribution in this field.[1] A

[1] *The Fākhir of al-Mufaddal ibn Salama.* By C. A. Storey. Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1915. xvii+80+٣٩ pages.

pupil of Bevan's, Storey brings to the work all the accuracy and pains-
taking conscientiousness, as well as the results of the extensive experience
of his master in the difficult technique of editing an Arabic text. The
book edited by him is what may be called a phrase lexicon, though hardly
after the manner of Roget's *Thesaurus*. Not much of the material here
published is new, as the footnote parallels, gathered with great diligence
and infinite labor, show. Yet the gathering of it under the heads of phrases
and popular locutions makes valuable lexicographical material of it and
will help the future lexicographer to save many weary hours of grinding
work. The indexes, as might have been expected from a pupil of Bevan's,
are all that indexes of such a volume should be. Perhaps it would
have been asking too much to have required, instead of the list of words
(الالفاظ فهرست), an alphabetical list of all the 521 phrases which form
the subject-matter of the volume. In the absence of a full lexicon, each
Arabist must list and catalogue this and similar material in a manner which,
in any case, would be quite impossible in any book of this nature. It is to be
hoped that Storey, who is designated on the title-page as Professor of Arabic
in the Muhammadan College, Aligarh, may live to continue his labors and
to present to us with the same virtuosity some of the rich stores of Arabic
literature which still lie hidden, and perhaps in part unknown, in the libraries
of India.

. M. SPRENGLING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Jewish Publication Society of America has just put out, under the
managing editorship of Professor Max L. Margolis, a new English version of
the Old Testament.[1] This edition was made possible by the generosity of
Mr. Jacob Schiff, who gave $50,000.00 to the Society for this purpose.
There was ample justification for this expenditure of money and energy.
The Revised Version is now behind the best Hebrew scholarship of today
and furthermore leaves much to be desired in respect to literary style; while
the Authorized Version, in addition to its defects in scholarship and not-
withstanding its magnificent and unapproachable style, is impossible for the
Jew, because of the Christian exegesis reflected in such running heads as
"An Exhortation to Trust in Christ," "Christ's Free Redemption."

The external characteristics of the new version may be briefly indicated.
A larger recognition of the poetic element in prophecy and elsewhere is
shown in the printing of such material in poetic form. Marginal notes and

[1] The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text. A new translation. with
the aid of previous versions and with constant consultation of Jewish authorities. Phila-
delphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917. Pp. xv +1136.

readings are almost wholly absent and are confined to translations of Hebrew proper names and the like. A more generous use of notes would have been helpful. The non-Jewish reader will not understand, e.g., the printing in small type at the end of the books of Jeremiah, Malachi, and Ecclesiastes, nor the break at the beginning of Jer. chap. 3. Personal pronouns referring to God are capitalized and quotation marks are freely used. Archaic forms are for the most part abandoned. The text is printed in paragraphs, as in the Revised Version, rather than verse by verse. The style is in the main that of the Authorized Version. In some sections page after page shows no essential variation from the language of the King James Bible. This is on the whole the wiser way. Of course tastes will differ; and at times we should like to find different phrasings. Why, for example, should we keep on saying "And God saw the light, that it was good," rather than "And God saw that the light was good"? A translation is under obligation to shake itself free from the idioms of the original, when those idioms are not English and the thought can be equally well expressed in English idiom. On the other hand, what is gained by changing the English "And it was evening and it was morning, etc.," into the Hebraic "And there was evening and there was morning, etc."? However, *de gustibus nil disputandum*.

In estimating the scholarship of the new version, we must keep in mind that the translators set themselves the task, not of making a new Hebrew text, but of translating the *textus receptus* of the Masoretes. They have not even undertaken to determine for themselves what the Masoretic text was, but have taken Baer's editions of that text, as far as they exist, and Ginsburg's where Baer is lacking. Such work as that being done by Kahle[1] shows that much yet remains to be done in the determination of the Masoretic text. Our translators themselves would doubtless be among the first to admit that the Masoretic text even when it has been identified is at many points sadly in need of correction. But they are right in not undertaking that task. In the first place it would be an almost endless piece of work, and, in the next place, it would carry conviction of its soundness nowhere. A version intended for public use must not permit any suspicions to arise regarding its attitude toward the received text.

Yet this version at times abandons the Masoretic text. In Mic. 2:7 הֶאָמוּר is rightly changed, following Ehrlich, to הַאָמִיר, "do I change, etc." In Isa. 41:2 this version does well to read יַקְרִיאֵהוּ for יִקְרָאֵהוּ. Another attractive reading is represented in Amos. 3:12, where בְּשׂק is substituted for בְּדְמֶשֶׂק. But such departures from the received text are relatively few and are generally confined to readings that are widely accepted. In translation, however, there is not the same restraint and caution. Surely the "virtuous woman" of Prov. 31:10 is not improved by becoming a "woman of valour." Why not make her a "wealthy woman"? That is one of the

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[1] Cf. Kahle, *Die Masoreten des Ostens* (1913), pp. VII ff.

common meanings of חַיִל! But, speaking seriously, what the context
demands is an "able wife," or a "capable wife," or a "worthy wife."
In Isa. 53:11 the Hebrew is forced beyond all limits by the rendering "Of
the travail of his soul he shall see to the full, even My servant, who by his
knowledge did justify the Righteous One to the many." The text is much
more naturally rendered, in the latter part of the verse, "Through the
knowledge of himself, the righteous one, My servant shall justify many."
Similarly in Amos 8:3, הִשְׁלִיךְ הָס is hardly to be rendered "Silence shall
be cast." If we must abide by the Masoretic text, it is better to take הָס
adverbially, as is usually done.

Naturally every scholar would like to see some traditional translations
abandoned. For example, why continue to translate in Prov. 31:10 "who
can find"? The implication of such a question is too harsh. Would not
"O that one may find" be more in keeping with the spirit of the passage?
This optative use of מִי is well established.[1] Is not Isa. 1:18 far clearer if
the clauses treated as promises are made interrogative? The continuation
of the thought in vs. 19 seems to argue strongly for this rendering. In Zech.
6:13 the second עַל־כִּסְאוֹ is rendered "before his throne." But עַל cannot
in and of itself have the meaning "before." This forcing of language is
due to failure to give recognition to the fact that there is textual corruption
here, as is shown by LXX, and that Zerubbabel once occupied a leading
rôle in this narrative alongside of Joshua.

It is ungracious, however, to continue this type of criticism upon a work
that so clearly is deserving of hearty appreciation. It is gratifying to have
such a work as this from Jewish scholarship, which has too often exercised
its gifts in other fields and allowed the leadership in Old Testament inter-
pretation to fall to Gentiles. The editors of this translation may justly
be given credit for having produced what is, upon the whole, the best exist-
ing popular English version of the Old Testament.

In connection with this Jewish version, the editor-in-chief, Professor Max
Margolis, has prepared a very brief survey of the history of Old Testament
translation.[2] He brings together here the main facts as to the origin and
character of the Targum, the Septuagint, and all succeeding versions down
to the present. It is useful particularly because of the greater attention
given to Jewish influence upon Old Testament translation than is found in
the ordinary handbook. It is also well provided with illustrations in half-
tone.

<div align="right">J. M. POWIS SMITH</div>

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[1] Cf. *Malachi* (I.C.C.), p. 43.

[2] Max L. Margolis, *The Story of Bible Translations*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publica-
tion Society of America, 1917. Pp. 135.

A STUDY OF AQUILA

The study[1] before us constituted a thesis submitted to the faculty of Dropsie College in support of the application for a Doctor's degree. It is a fine testimonial to the quality of the work demanded for the degree by that institution. The *Prolegomena* is based upon a knowledge of Aquila obtained in the process of compiling an *Index* to Aquila along the same lines as the Hatch and Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint*. The copy for the *Index* is on file in Dropsie College Library awaiting the compilation of similar indexes for Symmachus, Theodotion, and other Greek translators, the whole of which when completed will be published in one volume. The *Prolegomena* is organized in four chapters and four appendixes. The chapter-headings are: (1) "Aquila's Manner of Translation"; (2) "Aquila's Knowledge of the Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon"; (3) "Aquila's Exegesis"; (4) "The Hebrew Text Underlying Aquila's Version." An introduction offers some criticism of the methods and data of the Oxford *Concordance* and furnishes much in the way of correction and supplementation of that work and also of Field's *Hexapla*.

There is nothing startlingly new in the general propositions and conclusions of Dr. Reider; but he has brought together a wealth of illustrative material in support of his opinions such as is nowhere else on record. All students of Aquila will henceforth find Dr. Reider's work of inestimable value. Professor Margolis is deserving of high appreciation for directing the attention and activity of his students toward the study of the Septuagint and other Greek versions, in which line he has shown himself a master.

J. M. POWIS SMITH

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[1] *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila.* By Joseph Reider. Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1916. Pp. 160.

Short Notices

Paton, David, "Early Egyptian Records of Travel." Vol. II, *Some Texts of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Exclusive of the Annals of Thutmosis III.* Princeton, N.J.: University Press, 1916. $7.50 net.

The second volume of Mr. David Paton's "Early Egyptian Records of Travel in Western Asia," the first volume of which was reviewed in the October, 1916, issue of this *Journal*, deals with the XVIIIth Dynasty (1580–1350 B.C.), the climactic point of Egyptian activity abroad. The Annals of Thutmose III, who definitely established Egyptian supremacy in Hither Asia, are reserved for a third volume. That now at hand contains the records of his royal predecessors and of both their and his officials. To the contemporary documents is added a slightly later folk-tale relating how Thuti, one of Thutmose's generals, took Joppa.

Each page of the new volume is numbered and bears also the table number and designation, supplying welcome means of reference entirely lacking in Vol. I. But the cumbrous sign-by-sign collation, for the use of which Erman's "Aegyptische Grammatik" is necessary, is retained. This column, then, lies beyond the layman's facilities; for the specialist, a consecutive facsimile of the hieroglyphic text (Mr. Paton has himself found occasion to draw several sign-groups) would be preferable, doing away with time-consuming references to the additional volume. The transliteration, in the next column, continues to suffer somewhat from misunderstandings.[1] The accompanying translation might also be improved by clearer indication of syntactical relations. The final column, winnowed from the context, again (in spite of the cover-title) includes many place-names other than Asiatic. Even among the latter the uninitiated might not realize that "Qarīqamīaša" (p. 41, omitted from this column by oversight) is Carchemish, where the British Museum was excavating at the outbreak of

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[1] The following illustrations may be mentioned:

The fem. genitive *nt* is made into the masc. relative pronoun *ntt* (pp. 14, 25, etc.).
Phonetic complements are given full independent value.

The 1st per. pronoun is read *nwk* (p. 41, l. 1), contrasting with the correct form *ynk* (p. 42, l. 24).

Bit regularly appears instead of the correct nisbe form *Bitt* for the title "King of Lower Egypt."

Nśwt, "thrones," is intermittently confused with *NŚwt*, "king," in Amon's title "Lord of Karnak" (pp. 12, 25, etc.).

The name "Pen-nekhbet" appears as "Pen-nekht-bet" (p. 6) and "Pennektbet" (p. 7).

On p. 5, l. 2, for *Šdt inr wḏ nfr*, "What was taken out was excellent white stone," read *Šdt(w) inr ḥḏ nfr*, "Fine white stone was taken out" (passive in *tw* instead of participle).

On p. 4, l. 31, the royal figure following *ḥm* is not a determinative, but the 1st per. suffix.

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the war, or that "Ḫaarabw-land" is really the city of Aleppo. The bibliography remains thoroughly up to date and bewilderingly comprehensive. Both Mr. Paton and his typist, Mr. Welter, deserve hearty appreciation for the labor which they are continuing to lavish upon their task.[1] The reviewer ventures to suggest, however, that printed instead of typewritten tables would be clearer, and easier on the reader's eyesight.

T. George Allen

University of Chicago

Schaeffer, Henry, Ph.D., *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915. Pp. xvi+245, 8vo.

This book is a careful, fair-minded discussion of the social legislation of the civilized Semitic nations: the Babylonians, Hebrews, and Mohammedan Arabs. Why the author called them "primitive Semites" it is difficult to imagine. The term primitive as applied to them is altogether a misnomer. The work is nevertheless a most useful compilation of material, and the comparative treatment adds much to its value.

The subjects treated are: "Matriarchy," "Patriarchy," "Agnation," "The *Goel*" or "Next of Kin," "Slavery," "Interest," "Pledges and Security," "The Social Problem as Viewed by the Prophets," "Poor Laws," "Sabbatical Year," "The Year of Jubilee," "Ezekiel's Plan of Allotment," "Taxation and Tribute," and "The Development of Individual Landownership in Israel." It will be seen from this list of subjects that the writer's chief interest is biblical. Each subject, however, is illuminated by material from Babylonia and Islam wherever such material exists, the Code of Hammurapi furnishing much. Since the biblical material is made so prominent, the book should appeal to all students of the Bible. The positions taken are sane and are substantiated by the evidence. We welcome Dr. Schaeffer to the ranks of Semitic scholarship.

George A. Barton

Bryn Mawr College

Bénédite, Georges, *Le couteau de Gebel el-ʿArak*. Extrait des Monuments Piot, Tome XXII.

A very important historical document has recently been published by M. Georges Bénédite, who acquired it for the Louvre in 1914. It is a neolithic flint knife of the finest workmanship, with carved ivory handle. Only five similar knives were formerly known; and only one of these (now in Brooklyn) preserves, like our subject, both blade and handle. The blade, ground and with re-flaked edge, occurs at 60 in Petrie's scale of sequences. But the distinctive feature of the new knife is its decoration. The ivory handle bears, not rows of animals, as in previously known examples, but scenes of battle and the hunt. And, most surprising of all, the aggressors in the battle scene and the huntsman on the verso both remind us, though in different ways, of Babylonia. For the former, though

[1] A few typographical errors might be noted:
P. 1, l. 1, *for* G 58 *read* G 53.
P. 1, l. 2, *for* I will cause ye *read* I will cause you.
P. 11, first line of descr., *for* Asaif *read* Asasif.
P. 17, second col. of authorities, Boeser's publisher is not Nitjhoff, *but* Nijhoff.

nude, are short-haired (or shaven-headed) and short-necked, a quasi-Sumerian type; while the huntsman, with long robe, cap, and beard, suggests Naramsin and his Semitic contemporaries.[1] The lions which he holds are a closer match for a pair warded off by Gilgamesh on the seal of Queen Barnamtarra of Lagash[2] than for the ratlike creatures who constitute their closest Egyptian kin in a prehistoric tomb-painting from Hieraconpolis.

Returning to the battle, even the ships of the invaders, with their flat bottoms, high upcurved bow and stern, and crescent standards, are most akin to those incised on a pair of pottery vase-fragments from Telloh and Susa respectively,[3] which are so alike in clay, technique, shape, decoration, etc., that both vases might have been made by the same hand. While the Telloh fragment was near the surface and evidently displaced, the Susa fragment was found five or six meters deep, between zones of fine and of coarse painted pottery. The common site of manufacture of the two pieces may well have been in Babylonia, for Heuzey notes that a ship of the same type, the *belem*, is still used there. The date of these early representations, though uncertain, will hardly have been later than 2500 B.C.

That the same type of ship has been in use since long before that date is evident from its appearance on the newly discovered Egyptian knife. For the knife is certainly an Egyptian product. Not only have all the kindred examples known been found in Egypt, but also, though the details mentioned above find their closest parallels in Asia, the general style of the decoration is as undeniably Egyptian as are the papyrus-boats of the long-haired defenders in the battle scene. M. Bénédite confirms the evidence of the blade for an early predynastic date by a careful comparative study of the handle in the light of other early Egyptian materials employing similar subjects and technique, viz., slate palettes, mace-heads, and carved ivories. The knife becomes, then, our most definite token of one of many probable waves of Asiatic migration into neolithic Egypt.[4]

<div style="text-align: right">T. GEORGE ALLEN</div>

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[1] It is to be regretted that M. Bénédite's enlarged reproductions of the handle were not included among his heliogravures, as many details upon which interpretation depends must be read into the half-tones from the text.

[2] *Revue d'Assyr.*, VI, Pl. VII (marked Pl. III in Livr. 4).

[3] *Revue d'Assyr.*, VI, Pl. III. Cf. too Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Ch. VI. A similar boat is shown in relief on a vase from Bismya, now in Haskell Museum at the University of Chicago (published by Banks, *Bismya*, p. 139).

[4] Professor Petrie (in *Ancient Egypt* [1917], pp. 26–36) gives an illustrated synopsis of M. Bénédite's paper for English readers, followed by comments of his own. These include an admirable summary of the reasons for continuing to interpret the carved palettes as such, rather than as votive shields. Professor Petrie then proceeds to the larger question of the relative age of civilization in Egypt and Babylonia. He assumes that a common progress from Solutrean to Magdalenian types of worked flints, which he has rendered probable for such widely separated points as England and Egypt (see *Ancient Egypt* [1915]), holds also in Babylonia. Then, stretching his assumption to imply uniformity of succession not only relatively but also in point of absolute time, he argues on this fallacious basis that the finely decorated pottery found with Solutrean types of flints in the low levels of Susa shows a civilization a whole cycle earlier than that of the predynastic Egyptian graves with their Magdalenian flints. This system of reasoning must, of course, leave out of account the stage of progress evident in Egyptian work of the First Dynasty and earlier as compared with the crudities of art in the Tigro-Euphrates region as late as 3000 B.C.

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SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

NOTES ON EGYPTO-SEMITIC ETYMOLOGY

BY W. F. ALBRIGHT
Johns Hopkins University

The problem of the relationship between Egyptian and the other Semitic languages is at last approaching a solution, after having eluded the analysis of two generations of philologists. The intuition of the masters, Benfey and Bötticher (De Lagarde), though supported by insufficient material and imperfect method, has justified itself— Egyptian is indeed a Semitic tongue. In the following pages I hope to contribute in some slight degree to the confirmation of this thesis.

While the phonetic laws governing the development of Egyptian were still unknown, who can wonder at the slowness of the gains made even by such men as Brugsch, Erman, and Hommel? Of course, if they had devoted themselves more intensively to the task, progress would doubtless have been more rapid. Moreover, the workers were seldom equipped with the wide linguistic knowledge combined with scientific caution which is necessary for such investigations.

After Erman's epoch-making article, "Das Verhältnis des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen" (*ZDMG*,[1] XLVI, 93–129),

[1] Note the following abbreviations: *ÄGl*=Erman, *Ägyptisches Glossar; AJSL*= *American Journal of Semitic Languages; ÄZ=Ägyptische Zeitschrift; BA=Beiträge zur Assyriologie; GB*=Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch; HW*=Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch; JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society; JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature; JEA=Journal of Egyptian Archaeology; JRAS=Journal of the*

Semitists might have occupied themselves seriously with the matter, had it not been for the strong opposition which immediately made itself felt in the camp of Egyptology.   The two foremost Egyptologists of England and France, Renouf and Maspero, cast their powerful vote against the admission of Egyptian into the family of Semitic languages, and effectually blackballed it, for a time.   Since then the question has resolved itself into a factional controversy between the adherents of the Berlin school and the followers of Maspero, Naville, and Petrie.   Erman and Sethe have erected a grammatical and morphological system strikingly Semitic in appearance, a fact which led so careful a philologist as Zimmern to accept the views of Erman. Besides this, they have rescued the weak consonants, א, ו, י, and ע, from their degradation to the vocalic rank, a mistake of the early Egyptologists which naturally arose from the study of the degenerate syllabic script which prevailed during the last millennium of hieroglyphic history.   In some respects their error was as grave as De Saulcy's unfortunate effort to analyze cuneiform from the consonantal point of view, in this case due to over-respect for the analogy of West Semitic script.   The Semitic Babylonians borrowed their script from non-Semitic predecessors, whose written characters were syllabic because they originated as ideograms representing the words of a largely monosyllabic speech.   The Egyptians, on the other hand, invented their own writing, to reproduce a dissyllabic, triconsonantal vocabulary, with outstanding consonantism.[1]   Once made, the error perpetuated itself most tenaciously.   What a pity that the last

*Royal Asiatic Society; JSOR=Journal of the Society of Oriental Research; KD=*Růžička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen (=BA, VI, 4); LA=Lisân el-ʿarab; MVAG=Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft; OLZ=Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; PSBA=Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology; RA=Revue d'Assyriologie; RT=Recueil de Travaux; SGL=*Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar; TA= Taĝ el-ʿArûs; VG=*Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik; WB=*Brugsch, *Wörterbuch; WZKM=Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes; ZA=Zeitschrift für Assyriologie; ZDMG=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

[1] Now, thanks to Gardiner's brilliant work (see *JEA*, III [1916], 1–16), the probability that the " Phoenician " script is Egyptian in origin, or at least draws its inspiration from hieroglyphic sources, is immeasurably increased.   This is just what should have been expected from the functional identity of the hieroglyphic alphabet and the West Semitic. We can now confidently wave aside the cuneiform theories of Hommel, Ball, and Peiser (cf. Delitzsch, *Entstehung,* pp. 221 ff.).   On the other hand, we now see that the lapidary hieroglyphic style, and not the cursive hieratic, provided the starting-point, so the once-popular De Rougé-Taylor view cannot be readmitted to favor, though its basic idea turns out to be correct.

work[1] of the gifted Maspero should be devoted to the support of an antiquated system!

The history of the controversy over the Semitic character of Egyptian is as curious and interesting as the debate over the existence of Sumerian, and, when the concluding episodes have been enacted, will be worthy the pen of another Weissbach. Joseph Halévy lost his well-contested struggle, and died fighting for a hopeless cause, but the name of Aaron Ember will pass into history under different auspices.

The researches of Professor Ember are placing the new study on a secure foundation. Errors must inevitably be made; the workers are fully conscious of this and endeavor to reduce the number by publishing only etymologies which have been subjected to a severe criticism and have fulfilled certain methodical requirements, phonetic and semantic. Acting on this principle, Professor Ember has published only the moiety of his combinations so far.[2] I have imitated his example, omitting many precarious etymologies from the list which I subjoin. Perhaps the process of elimination should have been carried still further, but the subjective character of such an operation made me hesitate; many of Ember's old comparisons, afterward rejected, have turned out since to be probably correct. Some may object to my semasiological methods—in some cases, no doubt, with justice. However, any philologist knows that the most astonishing changes in the meaning of words do occur, as testified by innumerable instances of antiphrasis. In Semitic, semantic changes play an unusually important rôle; the number of *addâd* is very great.

As the Semitic occupation of Egypt fell in prehistoric times, surely not later than 4000 B.C., and perhaps millenniums earlier, we could not expect to find the idiom unmodified. Superimposed as it was upon a non-Semitic base, which we may postulate with a high degree of probability (see below), the morphology and vocabulary could not

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[1] "Introduction à l'étude de la phonétique égyptienne" (*RT*, XXXVII–XXXVIII). Contrast Naville, *JEA*, III, 233.

[2] See *ÄZ*, XLIX, 87 ff.; L, 86 ff.; LI, 110 ff.; *OLZ*, XVII, 6; XIX, 72 ff.; *ZA*, XXVIII, 302 ff.; also Spiegelberg, *OLZ*, XVII, 424. At the beginning of the war, Professor Ember sent several additional papers to Germany, but if published they have been, of course, unable to reach this country.

but be affected.   Foreign vocal organs change unaccustomed sounds
to suit wonted movements,[1] and grammar is correspondingly influ-
enced on the psychological side.   An advanced stage of culture con-
tinues the disintegrating process; in the complex and busy life of
civilization men have not the time to enunciate clearly—there is a
constant chopping, slurring, and sloughing of difficult sounds.
Consequently, we find Lithuanian and Arab speaking the most
archaic form of their respective stocks; French and Egyptian stand
at the opposite extremity.   We may expect to find these processes
of reduction carried to their fullest extent.   Such phenomena as the
loss of consonants—in Babylonia the weak laryngeals, in Egypt the
liquids—their assimilation and dissimilation must be looked for.
Judging from Coptic, we may also expect palatalization to play its
part.   Consonantal metathesis, one of the most characteristic fea-
tures of Semitic phonology, and very common in Coptic (as well as
in modern Egyptian-Arabic), will be found.   Egyptologists, to be
sure, take it for granted, but Semitic lexicographers, led by Barth,
are just beginning to grasp its full significance.   The great Swedish
Arabist and dialectologist, Count Landberg, says (*Daṯînah*, p. 792):
"La métathèse est d'un intérêt capital pour bien juger de la nature
des racines sémitiques."   In recent years Professor Haupt is becom-
ing increasingly impressed with the fundamental importance of
metathesis, especially in Assyrian, and almost every one of his articles
bears fresh testimony to the fertility of this new field of etymological
research.   Such transposed series as *brk-krb-rkb; kmr-krm-mkr-rmk*,
'to pour' (Haupt, *AJSL*, XXXII, 64 ff.); *khl-hkl-hlk-klh*, 'be dark'
(Haupt, *OLZ*, XVI, 492); *qrb-qlb-qbl* (Haupt, *AJSL*, XXVI, 3);
rzm-rmz-zmr, 'wink' (Haupt), are a few illustrations from a multi-
tude.   Naturally, caution is very necessary in this somewhat tricky
new path.   Ember pointed out a number of Egyptian cases in his
very first work (cf. *ÄZ*, XLIX, 92; L, 89): e.g., *wḏ*, 'command,' =
צוה (Erman); *rkḥ*, 'burn,' = חרך (حرق part. assim. to ح); *mri*,
'love,' = رٌم (=Assyr. *râmu*, Barth); *dmḏ*, 'unite,' = ضمد (also

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[1] In Spanish, e.g., influences of this kind are unusually clear (cf. Gerland, pp. 4, 27,
in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie²*), where Latin has been affected by
Ibero-Basque.   In the latter there is no *f*; hence Latin initial *f* became reduced to a faint
aspirate (indicated graphically by *h*).   Initial *ll* and *n mouillé*, very common in Basque,
are almost equally so in Spanish.

Hommel); *bẖn*, 'bark,' = نبم (von Calice); *ẖpd*, 'thigh,' = فخذ ; *ꜥrt*,

'jawbone,' = לֹחֵי (Sethe), etc.

However, we have no right to assume that the Egyptian language is purely Semitic. A priori we should not expect this, since the civilization of the Nile contains so many non-Semitic, African features. A great many Egyptian ideas and customs are purely African, as has been abundantly proved by Petrie, Amélineau, and especially Seligman, whose recent work is exceedingly valuable. The animistic *k3*-system, for example, is entirely African;[1] neither among Semites nor Indo-Europeans do we find anything like it. The demons and genii of the Sumerians are quite different.[1] Again, totemism and zoölatry are ubiquitous in Egypt and also in Central Africa (cf. Amélineau's *Prolégomènes à l'étude de la religion égyptienne*, I, 85 ff.); Semitic, Mesopotamian, and Hellenic totemism are still the airiest reconstructions. In these countries zoölatry is economic and symbolic, not totemistic. To make a rather free generalization, the Egyptian religion is the syncresis of African totemism and animism with Semitic "nature worship."[2]

This pre-Semitic race was not Negroid, as formerly supposed. Elliot Smith (a safer guide in anatomy than in anthropology) and

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[1] See especially Seligman, *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 103 ff. Langdon's remarks on the Sumerian "god of a man" only show more clearly than ever the difference between these African and Sumerian postanimistic (*sit venia verbo*) conceptions; see *JEA*, II, 239–40.

[2] It is yet too early to undertake seriously the measurement of Semitic influences in Egyptian religion and mythology. Probably the profoundest effect lay in the introduction of a Semitic nomenclature, though the Semitic mind must have modified the earlier system greatly in other ways. The animal-gods have generally received Semitic names,

as *Ḥnm* (حمل . 'ram,' Ember), Horus (الحر طير). Sokaris (صقر), *Rrt*, the hippo-

potamus-goddess (Ember: ‎ᑭIᑭ‎ = 'hog'; cf. الماء خنزير = 'hippopotamus.' The

Semitic equivalent is ריר, 'slime'; cf. Gr. σίαλον, 'slime,' and σίαλος, 'hog'). In this paper I shall add the following names to the list: *Sbk*, the crocodile-god; *Ḥqt*, the frog-goddess; and *Srqt*, the scorpion-goddess. We have Semitic etymologies for most of the divine names, but, as a discussion which would necessitate elaborate comparative excursions is entirely out of place here, I will not enter into details. Suffice it to say that such divine names as Osiris, Rêꜥ, Amôn, Ptaḥ, Min, etc., are almost certainly Semitic. Some of them, like Rê' and Amôn, are secondary appellations, the original names being, like יהוה in Judaism, too sacred to pronounce. *Rêꜥ*, for instance, means 'shepherd,' just as Šamaš is called *rêꜥû šaplâti nâqidu elâti* (*KB*, VI, 2, 96, l. 33), 'the herd of the lower regions, the shepherd of the upper regions.' In Heliopolis he sat enthroned with the *ḥq3*-staff, or shepherd's crook, the scepter of majesty. Other such secondary cult-names are *Sẖmt*, *Mẖnt* (see below), etc., which may, for all we know, have taken the place sometimes of non-Semitic names. Even the river-god *Ḥꜥpi* (Apis) is Semitic in name (see below).

F. W. Müller (in Vol. 27, the publications of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft) have shown conclusively that the anatomy of the pre-dynastic Egyptians was singularly free from Negroid characteristics, which do not make themselves apparent until well along in dynastic times, when Negro slaves became common. In remote prehistoric times there must have been contact and interchange of customs in one way or another; the Sahara was not then the barrier it later became, owing to the progress of dessication in this quarter. Possibly—but I will abstain from idle speculation. At all events, the Bantu did not occupy so large a portion of Africa as today.

I wish to suggest the possibility that the Semites were preceded in Egypt by a race of the Mediterranean group, a theory supported, not only by anatomical (so Müller, *op. cit.*), but also by philological and ethnographic considerations. This interesting family of semi-incorporating languages is gradually taking shape before our eyes, though their mutual relationship often seems as problematic as in the case of our North American Indian stocks. Thanks to the work of Bork, Herbig, Kluge, Kretschmer, Schuchhardt, Heinrich Winkler, and many others, the Mediterranean group, including the modern dialects of the Caucasus (Caucasian), Georgian, Circassian, Abkhassian, Karthvelian, etc., and Chaldian (Vannic), Mitannian, Elamite, Lycian, Lydian, Etruscan, Basque, etc., takes its place beside Semitic and Indo-European. Hittite probably does not belong to this stock.[1] On the other hand Sumerian probably does. Recently a very serious attempt to combine Sumerian with the Caucasian group has been made by a Georgian scholar, Tseretheli, in a monograph entitled "Sumerian and Georgian" (*JRAS*, 1913, pp. 783–821; 1914, pp. 1–36; 1915, pp. 255–88; 1916, pp. 1–58). The work makes a very favorable impression, thanks to the author's scientific method and his lack of dogmatism. Tseretheli's command of Georgian cannot be doubted, while his philological control of the Caucasian languages is attested by the name of Marr. Moreover, he seems to have studied the literature of Sumeriology carefully,

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[1] See Hrozný, *MDOG*, No. 56, December, 1915, and in the *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, March 13, 1916, where he replies very successfully to Bartholomae (*op. cit.*, January 17; see also the latter's rejoinder to Hrozný, March 13). Hrozný is supported by the weighty authority of Kretschmer and Eduard Meyer. The first fascicle of his *Sprache der Hethiter* is said to have appeared in 1916 (Leipzig: Hinrichs); see Cumont, *Comptes Rendus, Acad. des Inscr.*, 1917, pp. 119–24.

besides having assistance from Zimmern, Bezold, and Langdon. While some of the Sumerian words are doubtful, the combined effect of over 250 comparisons is impressive.   More significant, however, is the extended grammatical comparison which precedes, exhibiting a series of striking parallels between Sumerian and Georgian in pronouns, noun inflection, postpositions, and verbal structure, where we have in both (just as in Basque) the incorporation of pronominal elements in the verb-complex.   Professor Haupt is strongly disposed to agree with the Caucasian theory of Sumerian affiliation.   His support is the more weighty because of his vigorous opposition to all previous hypotheses; in the *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, published in 1879, he said (p. vi): "eine uralaltäische Sprache ist nämlich nach meiner Überzeugung das Sumerische ganz entschieden nicht," a conclusion which was warmly indorsed by the Ural-altaist Donner (see his exposition in Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache*, Berlin, 1883, pp. 39–48).

A number of curious facts may be mentioned which point to the existence of the Mediterranean race in Northern Africa before the arrival of the so-called Hamitic stock.   Here we can, with no small degree of confidence, rely on Schuchhardt (*WZKM*, XXVII, 163 ff.), whose ability and care are beyond cavil, while his methodical training was acquired in the school of Romance philology, that pattern and model of linguistic science.   With his usual caution he directs attention to the fact that the Meroitic of the inscriptions partly deciphered by Griffith bears no connection with Christian Nubian and its daughter, the Nuba of our day, just as Lidzbarski (cf. Schuchhardt, p. 183) finds that there is no visible kinship between the Numidian of the inscriptions and modern Berber.   Schuchhardt (pp. 172 f.) compares some Meroitic formations in *l* with corresponding Georgian, prudently, however, "ohne auf einen geschichtlichen Zusammenhang hinzielen zu wollen."

There is a remarkable similarity between some Egyptian and Mitannian terms of relationship, first alluded to, so far as I know, by Jensen, *ZA*, VI, 64 f., who remarks: "Dass gleichwohl das Mitannische nichts mit dem Aegyptischen zu tun hat, sieht jeder."   Coincidences of this kind may easily be fortuitous,[1] but the words should

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[1] As a few rather superfluous examples of coincidence, cf. Eg. *iwn*, Perso-Arabic اِوَان, Susian *hiȷan* (Hüsing, *BA*, V, 410), all centering around the meaning 'colonnade'; Eg. *mtr*, 'witness,' Gr. μάρτυρος, Mitra, god of the oath; Sum. *imbar*, 'rainstorm,' Lat. *imber;* the

at least be compared with care, as chance plays strange pranks now and then. Eg. *itf*, 'father' (for formation, cf. Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 123), originally *iti*, pronounced perhaps *$at(t)ai > iât >$ Coptic ЄІѠТ, reminds one of Mit. *attai*, Elam. *atta*, Sum. *ad(d)a*, Anatolian *atti-s* (Attis, consort of Mâ). Just as *iti* comes to mean 'king,' so *adda* means 'prince,' or the like, in Sumerian (Kudur-mabuk is the *adda Emutbal = abu Emutbala; RA*, II, 93, col. 1, l. 2). 'Brother' is *šn* in Egyptian, while in Mitannian it is *sena*.[1] Eg. *s3*, or 'son,' resembles Mit. **sa* (Mit. *ša-la*, 'daughter,' with which compare Elam. *ša-k*, 'son,' and *e-la*, 'sister,' while *i-ke* = 'brother'; Bork, *Mitannisprache*, p. 79). Here the similarity is probably misleading, because *s3* (pronounced *siįa*; Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 58) goes back to *z3* (*ziįa*).[2] The feminines *mwt*, 'mother,' and *s3t*, 'daughter,' are, of course, secondary and do not assist us. It must be noted, however, that *šn* and *s3* may be Semitic; Ember compares *šnwi*, 'two' ('second' is used in the sense of 'companion' both in Egyptian and in Hebrew; cf. Eccles. 4:8, 10), and זֶרַע, 'seed,' Assyr. *zêru*, 'offspring' (cf. Eth. ＨＣＡ：, *zár'ě*, where the ＞ is also lost). At all events, we must reckon with the possibility that there are Mediterranean elements in Egyptian,[3] and the probability that there are such in Berber, where the Semitic character of the language is so adulterated as to be barely visible. In the true Hamitic languages the Semitic structure is becoming steadily clearer, so that comparative researchers should busy themselves with them before tackling the more inscrutable Berber.

proportion *wick : wicked = mèche : méchant!* On this matter cf. Weissbach, *Die Sumerische Frage*, p. 160. A very curious case is presented by the words for 'span' in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Egyptian, *šibr, šézr*, and *šsp*. Had Praetorius considered the Egyptian he would hardly have combined the other two (*BA*, I, 44 f.).

[1] Written *šena;* in the Akkadian (Semitic "Babylonian") of northern Mesopotamia the values of the sibilants were interchanged; the Egyptologist may examine the cases given by Ranke, *Keilinschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation*, p. 91: Eg. *š* = cuneiform *š*; cf. *R'mšš* = רַעְמְסֵס = *Riamašeša*. The Egyptians did not attain such precision as their Euphratean neighbors in the transcription of foreign names; what were barbarian names to the chosen people (*rôme*)? Consequently, such Egyptian transcriptions are well-nigh valueless for etymological purposes; contrast Burchardt, *m3ᶜ ḫrw, Altkanaandische Fremdworte*, § 158.

[2] Ember has shown that *s* ("liegendes s") is the etymological equivalent of *z* in the Semitic languages. In the Pyramid Texts there is virtually no confusion of *s* and *š*, and words containing *s* always, except where assimilation has entered, equate themselves with Semitic words containing *z*. I will give more illustrations of this law in the following.

[3] I have run across a curious coincidence in Etruscan *ziz*, 'write,' which exhibits the same consonantal structure as Eg. *sḫ*, 'write.' Doubtless it is merely a coincidence, though our efforts to find a Semitic equivalent for *sḫ* have thus far proved vain.

The Hamitic languages, being thus more or less influenced by strange associations, and having been separated for many millenniums from their Semitic hearth, may well be expected to conceal an Asiatic origin. Since, even in Old Egyptian, Semitic words are often curiously altered, the perils attending the search for Semitic roots in modern Hamitic are great enough to terrify the most adventurous. Yet we must not hesitate; a beginning has already been made by Reinisch and others, especially in the comparative study of the different Hamitic languages.[1] Professor Ember is meeting with excellent results in the comparison of Egyptian and "Hamitic" words. He has now scores of unquestionably correct equations, as well as a great many probably correct. In some cases the root is clearly Semitic; sometimes we are in doubt. In other cases these words may be non-Semitic, wherever their ultimate origin is to be sought.

The possibilities for corruption and decay of Semitic words in Egyptian have been touched on above; Erman has illustrated the situation by comparing modern Italian and French (*ZDMG*, XLVI, 128, n. 1): "Wäre beispielsweise das Französische in der gleichen Weise überliefert wie das Ägyptische, so würden wenige die Mut haben *š₃ oder *š (*chat*) zu *gatto* . . . . *₃p₃ (*épée*) zu *spada* . . . . zu stellen." From one point of view the comparison is overdrawn; the consonantal structure of classical Arabic is but little removed from that of parent Semitic. To take French and Latin, who would venture to derive *₃w (*Août*) from *Augustus*, *šᶜ² (*chien*) from *canis*, *in* (*île*) from *insula?*

In order to prove the consanguinity of two languages, or linguistic groups, it is necessary to establish their agreement in certain elementary categories, such as the names of the parts of the body and the cardinal numbers. As Sethe and Ember have shown, the former are in Egyptian mostly Semitic, though the old names have been replaced in a number of cases by neoplasms. The words for 'hand,' *d* (ד); 'eye,' *ᶜn* (עין); 'ear,' *idn* (اذن); 'tooth,' *šn* (in the lance-head;

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[1] It is greatly to be hoped that Professor Max Müller will soon be able to publish his comparative researches on the Hamitic languages. In such able hands the puzzling material should shape itself into harmonious lines. It is a pity that Egyptologists have not generally adopted Müller's theory of the "syllabic" writing, which is quite evident to a cuneiformist. Perhaps the lucid presentation of the subject in *MVAG* will draw more converts.

[2] For Eg. ᶜ = n̄ see below.

cf. سِنان), are preserved as sign-values or in derived meanings.   Many other words are retained, as *nś*, 'tongue' (לֹשׁוֹן, לָשׁוֹן); *śpt*, 'lip' (שָׂפָה; for *ś* = ش see my comments on *śpr*, below); *dbᶜ*, 'finger' (אצבע, *çûbu*); *ib*, 'heart' (לֵבָב לֵב); *rś*, 'head' (in *rś*, 'south,' toward the source [ראש, *rêšu*] of the Nile; *wrś*, 'headrest'); *d3d3*, 'head' (גלגלת, Ember); *q3b*, 'entrails' (קֶרֶב); *drt*, 'arm' = זְרֹעַ (Müller in *GB*; also Ember independently); *rd*, 'foot, leg' (مَرْدٰوَة, Ember; *rittu*, 'paw, hand,' for *ridtu* like *qâtu*, 'hand,' for *qantu* [so Haupt], from קנה, *qanû*, 'grasp,' Albright); *wᶜrt*, 'leg' (from *wᶜr* = وعل, by-form of علو, עלה, Ember); *ᶜ3gt*, 'hoof' (רֶגֶל, ⲁϪⳭⲁⲉ, *ᵓeger*, Ember); *p3d*, 'leg' (*puridu*, Ember); *hpd*, 'thigh,' = فخذ (for *d* = ذ cf. *idn* = اذن), Ember; *b3h*, 'phallus' (بوح, Ember); *s3*, 'back' (سراة, Ember); *mnd*, 'breast' (from *mnd*, 'suckle,' = ملج, *malâgu*, Ember); *q3bt*, 'nipple' (كعب, Ember).   Many others, mostly secondary in Egyptian, have good Semitic etymologies, while still others are doubtful.   In the following pages I shall propose still other etymologies, among them *hnt*, 'nose,' = خطم, *huttimmu*; *hp3*, 'navel,' = ⳤⳍⳆⳬⳭ, *henbêrt*, from חבר, *ᵓebêru*, 'bind'; *hh*, 'throat,' conn. with *hururtu*.   In short, we have Semitic etymologies for more than forty Egyptian names of parts of the body.[1]

No less decisive are the numerals.   The latest defense of their Semitic origin is found in a work by Sethe, entitled, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern* (Strassburg, 1916), which is, of course, inaccessible to us, but has been reviewed circumstantially by the able English Egyptologist, Battiscombe Gunn, *JEA*, III, 279 ff. Sethe maintains that the cardinals up to ten are Semitic, with the exception of *hmt*, 'three,' which I regard as also Semitic (see below). Of the higher numbers the majority seem to be Semitic.   Stating the relationship in tabular form, for the sake of simplicity, we have:

1. $w^{c2} < w^c d^3 < whd$ = وحد (Ember).

[1] Since the above was written Professor Ember has discovered several more excellent etymologies belonging to this class.

[2] For dropping of the *d* cf. *śiś*, 'six,' for سلس; *w3r*, 'cord.' for وتر (Spiegelberg). It is, of course, very common in French.   Cf. also loss of final *n* in *ib3*, 'chessman,' for אבן (Ember).

[3] Since ᶜ is the sonant corresponding to the voiceless *h*, the assimilation of the latter to ᶜ between the sonants *w* and *d* is a faultless phonetic process.

2. $śn(wi) < θni̯ =$ ثنى .

3. $ḫmt^1 < ḫnt^2 < šnt < šlt^3 < θlθ =$ ثلث .

4. $(?)ifd =$ ربع ,[4] (Sethe).

5. $dw =$ يد [5] (Sethe).

6. $śiś < śdś =$ سلس .[6]

7. $śfḫ^7 < śfẖ^8 < śfᶜ^9 < śbᶜ =$ سبع .

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[1] Ḫmt for *ḫnt is on a par with Assyr. *Gimtu* for *Gintu* (גַּת for *gint from a stem
וגן-רגן (كنتر , صدّح > صمدح , سدّر > سمدر , *inamdin* for *inandin*; Ar.
< كثر , etc. KD, pp. 147 ff.; cf. also Brugmann, *Grundriss²*, § 400, 1, etc.). In Ethiopic
there is a host of illustrations for the dissimilation of *m* to *n* before a labial; see below,
s.v. *ḏbt* and KD, pp. 116 ff. Since *m* was often assimilated to a following dental, as in *ḫnt*,
'nose' (*q.v.*), for *ḫmt=ḫu̯m*, and *ḫnt*, 'skin-bottle,' for *ḫmt=*חמרת (Ember), confusion
ensued, and the reverse process set in, a phenomenon which is exceedingly common in
language.

[2] For *ḫ < š* cf. *ḫmn*, 'eight,' and below.

[3] The form *šlt* is actually found in South Arabian. The inscriptions give the form
šlθ (due, of course, to dissimilation), which appears in Ethiopic as *šalšt*. In Mehri *šlt*
becomes, by a further dissimilation, *šlt* (cf. KD, p. 174).

[4] According to Gunn (*JEA*, III, 281), Sethe derives *ifd* from *rbᶜ*, by the aid of the
Hamitic languages. Some of these offer the form *fdg*, which only makes matters worse.
Possibly *ifd* stands for *rbḏ*, but a *non liquet* is safer until we see Sethe's explanation.
There is also a possibility that *ifd* or *fdw* represents a different root from the Semitic
rbᶜ, which Brockelmann (*VG*, I, 485) thinks may be connected with ربض , ܪܒܨ , and
have referred originally to the four legs of a crouching beast (*et tu, Brute!*). In Indo-
European the word for 'four' may have meant originally "four-sided inclosure" (Nissen-
Meyer, *WZKM*, XXVII, 185) though in Semitic we find no trace of such a development.
Ifd, 'box,' means according to Sethe 'the four-sided, square object,' but its relation
to *ifd* is not clear. If necessary *fdw* or *ifd* could be connected with فلد , 'divide,' and
compared with بضعة , 'small number,' from بضع , 'cut, divide,' but such suggestions
are rather gratuitous.

[5] According to Sethe *dw* means 'hand, pentad (of fingers).' יד , 'hand,' appears in
the character for *d*.

[6] Brockelmann regards *sdθ* as the primary form. With all regard for such an eminent
authority, I can only consider this form a secondary dissimilation (see above on *ḫmt*).
South Arabian *sdθ* is on a par with *šlt<θlθ*, and the Aramaic שֵׁת , Arabic ست , are to
be explained in the same way. There is plenty of evidence that combinatory changes
had occurred before the Dispersion. The numerals *θlθ* and *sds* (or *θdθ*, which is pos-
sible, though, in view of سادس , not so likely) are modified reduplications (such as are
common in Egyptian and found in Assyrian and Aramaic, though the type *Mediae
geminatae* prevails).

[7] Ḫ for *ḫ* is like late *ḫmm* for *ḫmm<*ḫmm=* حمّ . The *ḫ* is the palatalized form of
both *ḫ* and *ḫ*.

[8] By assimilation of the *ᶜ* to the surd *f*.

[9] By assimilation of the *b* to the surd *ś*.

8. $\hbar mn^1 < \check{s}mn^2 < \theta mn =$ ثمن .

9. $p\check{s}\underline{d}^3 < t\check{s}\underline{d}^4 < t\check{s}g^5 < t\check{s}\dot{n}^5 < t\check{s}^c =$ تسع .

10. $m\underline{d} = ?^6$; عشر $= {}^c\check{s}\underline{3}$ (Ember).

The words for 'twenty' Coptic ⲬⲞⲨⲰⲦ, etc., 'thirty,' $m^c\underline{b}\underline{3} =$ ⳘⲀⲀⲂ, and 'forty,' ⲤⳘⲈ, are different from the corresponding Semitic. $M^c\underline{b}\underline{3}$ reminds one forcibly of מעבר, 'passage';[7] can it refer originally to the number of days in a lunar revolution, or "passage"? $\check{S}\underline{3}t$, 'hundred' $=$ ⳘⲈ, is at present a riddle. $\underline{H}\underline{3}$, 'thousand' (ϢⲞ), is hard to separate from $\hbar\underline{3}i$, 'to measure,' and $m\hbar\underline{3}t$, 'balance,' possibly related to $\hbar\underline{3}$, 'lotus,' perhaps connected with the stem חלל , خَلّ , 'hollow out'; cf. Eth. ሐለት፡, $\hbar ellat$, 'reed.' Similarly, קָנֶה, קַנְיָא , 'beam of a balance' (properly 'reed') is employed by metonymy for 'balance.' $\underline{H}fn$, 'hundred thousand,' is to be connected, according

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[1] See above, on $\hbar mt$, 'three.'

[2] $\check{S}$ for θ arises by dissimilation from the dental n. There may even have been a tendency to change n to the corresponding stop, d, just as m often becomes b.

[3] Again dissimilation; the d was pronounced, of course, like ج $= d\check{z}$, $\check{g}$. It is possible that we may have a similar case in bnr, 'date,' perhaps for $*dnr < *dmr < *tmr =$ תמר , تمر (Ember has identified dqr with דִּקְלָא). However, we may have to do with a peculiar metathesis, in which the nasalization of the second consonant is retained. Max Müller (*RT*, XXXI, 199, n. 1) suggests the evolution $bnr < *v\dot{n}r < *fnr < *fmr < *\theta mr =$ تَمَر , 'fruit.' Such an origin and development would indeed be extraordinary in the case of a loan-word. It is unlikely that ثمر and تمر are connected; in the meaning 'date palm,' the latter is common Semitic, coming from a stem meaning 'be lofty.' Nor is there any need to regard bnr as a loan-word; even such a man as Zimmern can push the theory of loan-words too far. Would a word for 'date' be borrowed by Egyptians?

[4] The $d = \check{g}$ for ^{c} is found in a number of words; e.g., $n\underline{d}m =$ עָב: , $n\underline{d}\check{s} =$ نعس (Ember), $\check{s}\underline{d}m =$ سمع . Since the reverse process also seems to occur in the vicinity of a nasal, as $mn^c t$, 'nurse' $< mn\underline{d}t$ ($mn\underline{d}$, 'suckle' $=$ ملج , Ember; Assyr. $mul\hat{u}gu =$ 'nursing fee' primarily); $\hbar m\underline{3}it$, 'salt' $< \hbar m^c t < *\hbar m\underline{d}t$ (حمض), we must, I think, explain the change on the following basis. The ^cain was pronounced with a nasal sound, as among Sephardic Jews and in some parts of Northern Africa (cf. Müller, *OLZ*, XVII, 247 f.; also *KD*, p. 50). Hence the ^cain, in words containing a proximate nasal, was often dissimilated from the latter, a $*n-ng-m$ thus becoming $*ngm$. When the g was palatalized, as was usually the case, the g became d ($\check{g}$). In $*t\check{s}n$, then, we may assume a dissimilation between the dentals (as in $*\theta mn$, 'eight'), which gave rise to $*t\check{s}g > *t\check{s}\underline{d}$.

[5] See preceding note.

[6] I have a number of conjectures in respect to the etymology of $m\underline{d}$, but they are very precarious. Brockelmann's idea (*VG*, I, 487) that mt (MHT, the later pronunciation of $m\underline{d}$, properly $m\dot{g}$ or $m\dot{c}$, $m\ddot{c}$) may be מְאָה , 'hundred,' just as Eth. 'elf means 'ten thousand,' is naturally untenable.

[7] The stem עבר appears otherwise in Egyptian as ^cpi, 'pass over,' as shown by Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 121.

to Sethe's excellent suggestion, with Arabic *ḥafl*, 'multitude.'[1] *Dbꜥ*, 'ten thousand,' means properly 'finger,' which would indicate that the finger was used for 'ten thousand' in the primitive system of counting employed in predynastic Egypt, as well as for 'one.' *Ḥiḥi* (*ḥḥ*), 'million,' is literally 'what is sought for (but not attained),' 'illimitably great,' from *ḥiḥi*, 'to seek,' perhaps akin to *ḥw(i)*, 'gather' = حوى (Ember); similarly Ember combines *gmi*, 'find,' with جمع , 'gather.'

From the examination of the names of the numerals and the parts of the body we may turn away reassured to more general comparisons. While our study is only in its beginnings, marked

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[1] The combination of *ḥ/n* and حفل appears almost certain. The stem-meaning is 'flow,' hence 'flow together, assemble' (cf. שָׁפַע and שָׂפָה. שְׁפָעָה - نفر , نَفَّر , كُبَّة - كَبّ , and the cases cited *JAOS*, XXXVI, 230 f.). We have a precisely similar development in the Amharic word for 'thousand,' *šiḥ*, *siḥ*, which Praetorius, *Amharische Sprache*, p. 204, combines, by the aid of the Ethiopic, with سيح , 'to flow.' From the same stem I would derive Eg. *ḥꜥpi*, the Nile; the writing *ḥꜥpr* is false (cf. *ÄZ*, XLIV, 114; XLV, 140; and Max Müller, *RT*, XXXI, 196). *Ḥꜥpı* undoubtedly stands for *ḥꜣpi* (the ꜣ frequently is changed by a contiguous *ḥ* to ꜥ; cf. *bꜥḥi*, 'abound, flood,' from *bꜣḥi* = بحر , Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 114). A secondary ꜣ is just as common in Egyptian after the initial letter as an ꜣ in verbs *quartae imfirmae* is in Assyrian (cf. כלם and כלמא, and פרד and פרדא, פרכא , and חלק and חלצא , כלה and כלפא [which are connected, as I shall show elsewhere], etc.). Considering the character of the forms, as, e.g., *ꜥꜣpp*, Apophis, the 'flying dragon' (from *ꜥpp*), *ꜥꜣff*, 'flying insect' (such by-forms with *f* = *p* are common in Egyptian, and, while they can hardly be explained on an accentual basis, *à la* Werner, they certainly do not support Grimme's *p*-theory (*ZDMG*, LXVIII, 259 ff.), according to which proto-Semitic *ṗ* appears in Eth. as *ṗ*, in Arab. as *b*, in Heb.-Aram. as *p*; *pᵉ*(?) appears as Eth. *p*, *b*, and as *b* in the other languages; *pᶠ* becomes Eth.-Arab. *f*, Heb.-Aram. *p*, Assyr. *p*. Such hairsplitting is only allowable on the basis of a mass of assured etymologies, which few of Grimme's are. Grimme, moreover, pays no attention to the far-reaching influence of assimilation. At present I do not think we can safely go beyond two proto-Semitic *p*'s, *ṗ* and *p*), *Rꜣḥꜣ* (*Iꜣḥꜣ*, *Rḥꜣ*, Pyr. 994c, 1476, etc.), etc., I suspect we have to do with old participial forms (i.e., *qaꜣâtil*, or the like, for *qâtil*, which may have arisen from the analogy of broken plurals like فواوس , plural of فارس). حفل means 'flow abundantly, torrentially'; حفل بالسيل = 'be swollen to its bank by a torrent' (of a stream). Somewhat similarly, *mḥi*, 'be flooded' (*imḥ*, 'irrigate') may be connected with *mḥ*, 'fill' (ⲘⲞⲨⲌ, connected by Ember with Hamitic *bâḥ*, 'to fill'; cf. باحة , pl. بوح , 'flood, mass of water'): cf. *mîlu*, 'flood' (= *mîlu kiššati*), from *malû*, מָלֵא , 'fill, be full.' Ember thinks that *mrit*, 'river wall, embankment, quay' (like Assyr. *kâru*), belongs to מלא ; cf. *mr*, *mi*, 'lake, canal,' orig. perhaps 'inundation.' Talmudic מלירתא (Levy 2, 128*b*) has precisely this meaning: it is paraphrased by גודא דנהרא = *kdr nâri*. Another parallel to *mḥi*, etc., is given by Dennefeld, *Geburtsomina*, p. 46, l. 5, etc., who points out the word *abâlu*, 'flood' (*nâru ibbal-ma*, "der Fluss wird anschwellen," instead of *nâru šubtu^m ibbalakit*, a grammatically impossible reading). The stem is clearly, however, not *abâlu* - وبل , which never means 'flow,' but only 'bring,' in Assyrian, but *abâlu* (*šutâbulu*) - حبل , 'be full.'

progress has already been made.   Professor Ember alone has dis-
covered some six or seven hundred equivalences which are either
certain or probable, besides making a great many doubtful sugges-
tions.   With the hundred and fifty which I shall propose and discuss
in this paper, and the etymologies previously known, which we owe
to Brugsch, Erman, Sethe, Steindorff, Max Müller, and others, the
total number approaches the thousand mark, a progress which is most
encouraging, in view of the limited time we devote to this study.   In
many cases we have plausible theories, but, because of phonetic or
semasiological difficulties which, though explicable, might arouse sus-
picion, they are being withheld for the present.   Other troubles arise
from a veritable *embarras de choix*.   Owing to the phonetic break-
down of the language, it is often possible to propose several different
etymologies for the same word, between which selection is hazardous
in the present stage of investigation.   In the case of such incom-
patible Semitic forms as $ʿḥ^ʿ$, 'stand,' we must await the future,
though confident that we have to deal with complicated processes of
phonetic change.   Possible etymologies come readily enough to mind.

The proportion of words so far etymologized is greater than the
number mentioned above would indicate; we have, of course, fought
shy of doubtful words.   To illustrate the situation I have gone through
Erman's *Glossar*, counting the word-stems for which Semitic equiva-
lents have been found; over 50 per cent is clear; some 20 per cent is
doubtful, and the remaining 30 per cent is reserved for the future,
many of the words being doubtful in meaning or having special and
technical values.   Some words are presumably non-Semitic (see
above).   To this category may belong such words as r^3, 'mouth';
miw, 'cat' (onomatopoetic); ^3b, 'elephant'; *dng*, 'dwarf,' etc.
Many names of plants and animals may belong here.

Among new phonetic correspondences which I shall try to estab-
lish is $t < ט$ as well as ת , $ḥ < ش$, $š < خ$, $d = ض$, $f = ث$, the last two
of which are sporadic, just as in the other Semitic languages.   Pro-
fessor Ember had previously thought of the first three, but had not
enough cases to establish them.   *T* for ט is precisely what should
have been expected; the equation $d = ט$ is late.   I have about thirty
new cases, in addition to those previously pointed out: e.g., *tlt*, 'pus,
matter' = טיט (Brugsch); *twr*, 'be clean' = טהר ; bt^3, 'sin' = بط ;

tfi, 'leap'= طفر ; perhaps *bwt*, 'abominate, loath'= بوط , ذلّ بعد
ما جلّ (all due to Ember); Coptic ⲦⲖⲦⲖ, 'drip'= طلّ (Ember); *štf*,
'overflow'= שׁטף (Müller; the word is late).[1] Among the new cases
are the following, which I shall fully discuss in the list of correspond-
ences with which this paper will close: *ith*, 'shoot'= טחה, etc.; *wt*,
'wind'= طوى ; *wtt*, 'serpent'= طوط (cf. تطوّى , 'coil'); *ptr*, 'see'=
فطر ; *nht*, 'be strong'= نشط ; *htm*, 'perish'= حطم ; *hnt*, 'nose'= خطم ;
ht, 'tree'= *hattu*, etc.; *hti*, 'engrave'= خطّ ; *hti*, 'follow'= خطو ; *htht*,
'err'= خطأ ; *šti*, 'shoot'= سطو , רטט ; *štwh*, 'soil one's self'= طيخ ;
t3, 'land, ground'= طاءة ; *titi*, 'tread'= وطى ; *twt*, 'resemble'= وطو ;
twt, 'assemble'= انطوى ; *tnm*, 'lose the way'= طلب ; *thb*, 'moisten'=
טבב ; *tš*, 'yield'= طمش . In at least two cases *d* corresponds ety-
mologically to ט , perhaps brought about by the other accompanying
emphatic consonants; *qdf*, 'pluck'= קטף (Ember), and *šdh*, 'must,'
which I would connect with שׁחם , 'press out grapes' (see below for
discussion). By the New Empire, of course, *d* is the phonetic equiva-
lent of ט , as appears from loan-words and transcriptions.

The change of *h* to *š* (ش) is familiar to us from Coptic. The
fluctuation between these consonants is common in all periods of
Egyptian history. Even in the early age we have, e.g., *iht-išt*,
'thing'; *ḥm-ᶜšm*, 'hawk'= רחם , رخم , (Ember). The strongly pala-
talized *h* is the intermediary, like German *ch* in *ich*, which varies in
different parts of the Teutonic world from *h* to *š*, though the standard
pronunciation is *h*. Similarly we have حمّ , 'be hot,' appearing as *hmm*
(rare), *hmm*, and *šmm*. We have many cases to show that *h* may
stand either for palatalized *h* or for palatalized *ḥ*; cf., e.g., *hᶜq*=
حلق ; *Hnm*= حمل (Ember); *hsi*, 'be miserable'= خزى ; *hdb*, 'kill'
= خلب , 'strike, wound' (both due to Ember).[2] Dozens of illustra-
tions could easily be given.

[1] Müller's combination of *pth* with שׁטף (*GB*¹⁶, *s.v.*) is very improbable. שׁטף
corresponds to بطم (unpointed ح) rather than to فطم , however. Assyr. *ṭappu*,
sole of the foot,' moreover, I would combine with طلق , 'spread, stretch'; contrast Holma,
Körperteile, p. 138 (Eg. *ṭbt*, 'sole, sandal,' which Holma combines with *ṭappu*, is, of course
כף רגל , with Ember, who has found the writing with *k* in the Pyr. Texts).

[2] With خلب , 'wound,' and *ḥdb* I would combine Assyr. *ḥuppudu*, 'strike out' (an
eye), 'destroy' (Code of Ḥammurapi, rev., XVII, 49; XVIII, 82; XXI, 24, etc.).

The change of *š* to *ḫ* is found, for example, in Spanish; cf. Groeber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*², p. 900, etc. Such sounds as *ss, si̯, li̯* become *š*, written *x*, and fall together with *j* (*i̯*), pronounced *ž, š*. About the sixteenth to the seventeenth century *š* became *ḫi̯, ḫ*, while the spelling *x, j* was retained. Finally, in the nineteenth century, the spelling *j* prevailed. Latin *passerem*, 'sparrow,' became **pašero, paxaro, pajaro*, 'bird'; Lat. *mulier(em)* became **mušer, muxer, mujer*; Lat. *filium* became **fišo, fixo, hijo*, and so on. Similarly, in Egyptian we have *ḫ* for ش in *ḫmt*, 'three,' for **šnt* (see above); *ḫmn*, 'eight,' for **šmn*; *iḫt*, 'thing' = شيء (Ember); *wbḫ*, 'white' (> ⲟⲩⲟⲃ ; note the phonetic cycle, which appears in most languages with a long history, as Greek) = وبش (Ember); *nḫt*, 'be strong' = نشط (Albright); ʿ*nḫ*, 'live' = عيش , and the cases cited below, *s.v.* ʿ*nḫ*. For the reverse change, above considered, note the cases collected below *s.v. wsš*, 'urinate,' *sš*, 'nest,' *šwi̯*, 'be empty,' *šrt*, 'nose,' *špsi̯*, etc. I think they will be sufficient to establish the fact of the sound change, even should some of the dozen be proved eventually wrong. The two remaining changes *d < l* and *f <* ث will be treated *s.v.* ʿ*dd*, 'boy,' *ḏdb*, 'prick, stab,' and *fḳ꜄*, 'reward.' I will not devote any more space to the discussion of the phonetic laws which govern the growth of the Egyptian language, as Professor Ember hopes to publish an elaborate study of the subject in the near future.

Granted that Egyptian is Semitic, in morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, what is its precise position among the languages of the group? Hommel believes that it is most closely akin to Assyrian; his arguments are always interesting, but often singularly devoid of foundation. He complicates the issue hopelessly by attempting to show that the Egyptian civilization is a daughter of the Sumero-Babylonian, and comparing Egyptian words of all kinds with Sumerian vocables as well as with Assyrian. Of course, the only logical result of such a method is the curious glottogonic theory of Ball, that the Sumerian is proto-Semitic, and that all Eurasian tongues go back to a common radical stock. Considering these heresies, one is tempted to say with the apostle, τὰ γὰρ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν καὶ λέγειν. Such Hommelian equations as *rn-pt* (stem ꜩꜣ , Ember) = Sum. *mu-ana*, 'name of heaven' = 'year';

Osiris = Asaru, both written with the signs for 'seat' or 'settlement,' and 'eye,' are surely accidental, just as fortuitous as the *rapport* between Hebrew and English which delights the young Hebraist with "me is who, who is he, and he is she." From such materials brilliant calembours may be made, but never philology. The similarities between Old Egyptian and Sumero-Babylonian civilization are in part due to similar environments, in part to Mediterranean and Semitic elements common to both, and partly to the transfusion of related cultures, separated by a distance not at all insuperable and occupied by peoples far removed from savagery and well adapted to serve as intermediaries.[1]

From the grammatical standpoint, Egyptian resembles Assyrian and South Arabian rather more closely than the other Semitic tongues. *S* for *h* in the causative and in the third person of the pronoun is characteristic of Assyrian and Minean. As, however, a great many Semitic words beginning with *s* found in all the languages are unquestionably old causatives (just as in Egyptian), no conclusion can be safely drawn from forms which may only be stray survivals in Hamitic, Assyrian, and South Arabian. One important phenomenon is common to Egyptian and Assyrian—the qualitative, called usually by Egyptologists the pseudoparticiple and by Assyriologists the permansive. So far as I know, no trace of such a formation has been discovered in the South Semitic languages. Certain features common to Egyptian and Assyrian may be expected also in South Arabian; there is in some respects a close connection between Ethiopic and Assyrian (see Haupt, *JAOS*, XIII, 252 ff.) as well as between South Arabian proper (Sabean, Minean, etc.) and Assyrian (Hommel, *passim*). A number of things are found *only* in Egyptian and Ethiopic, as the *nifᶜal* of reduplicated verbs: e.g., Eg. *ngśgś, nhmhm, nśrśr, nqdqd*, etc.; Eth. ኣንጐርጐረ ፡ , ኣንሰሰወ ፡ , ኣንኩኩረ ፡ , etc.[2] Eth. በበ and ሰሰ as distributives remind one of Eg. *mm*. Egyptian shares

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[1] For an illustration of such influence see Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 26–36. The heroic figure wearing a long robe is not Babylonian, but North Mesopotamian. Petrie and Bénédite hold from the archaeological evidence that there had been a gradual infiltration of the dynastic people from the east during the second prehistoric age before the dynastic conquest. I forbear from making obvious combinations. Neither language nor culture is proof of race, the determination of which depends upon other anatomical and anthropological considerations. At present, collaboration between the archaeologist and the philologist in settling problems of prehistory leads to such doubtful results that one is tempted to quote Schiller's epigram:

"Feindschaft sei zwischen euch! Noch kommt das Bündnis zu frühe; Wenn ihr im Suchen euch trennt, wird erst die Wahrheit erkannt."

[2] Cf. Hommel, *Geschichte und Geographie*, p. 146, n. 1.

the nominal preformative h with Mehri (Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 117, n. 2).
In discussing the numeral hmt, 'three,' it was noticed that the path
of its development leads through South Arabia, though, of course,
no stress can be laid on such isolated analogies.

From the lexical viewpoint, we arrive at similar results.   While
some Egyptian words find their etyma only in Hebrew, in Aramaic,
or in Assyrian, a large number of characteristic words appear only
in Ethiopic, or in Ethiopic and Arabic.   Of course, the vast majority
of words find equivalents only in Arabic, which is quite natural, con-
sidering the relative completeness of our knowledge of the peninsular
dialects.   As the قاموس contains a great many South Arabian words
in its voluminous basin, agreements in vocabulary may often be
placed to the credit of the southern tribes.   The number of Ethiopic-
Egyptian etymologies I have collected will, no doubt, be greatly
increased by investigation.[1]   Among cases which will be fully dis-
cussed below, are $i\beta ht$, 'inundation,' $i\beta hi$, 'to flood,' and ኡይ፡,
'deluge'; $wnwn$, 'shake, sway' = ወለወስ፡, 'shake'; inp, 'offspring' =
ወለብ፡, 'egg'; $n^c i$, 'come' = ነዒ፡, 'come' (only in imperative); hsp,
'district, nome' = ሕዘብ፡, 'tribe, section' (حزب); $hp\beta$, 'navel' =
ሕንበርት፡; $\acute{s}\beta\acute{s}i$, 'walk, roam' = ሰሰወ፡; dbt, 'brick' = ጥዕል፡ (جبل).

The resemblance between Ethiopic and Egyptian must not, how-
ever, be associated with the present home of the Abyssinians, as the
Ge^{c}ez probably did not emigrate from Arabia until well along in the
first pre-Christian millennium.   While our knowledge of prehistoric
movements is so nebulous, conjecture is cheap.   It seems to me more
likely that the Semites entered Northern Africa by way of the Isthmus
of Suez than by way of Qoṣêr and Koptos.   Of course, the latter was
an important trade route from the earliest times.   There are those
who believe with Hommel that the Amorites were of South Arabian
origin, like the tribe of Ġassân twenty-five centuries after.   Who can
tell what may have happened another twenty-five centuries before?

[*To be continued*]

[1] Of course, allowance must be made for the presence of Hamitic loan-words in
Amharic and, to some extent, already in Ethiopic.   To this category probably belong
the cases pointed out by Ember, as *mr*, 'chisel' =Amh. *márō; dng*, 'dwarf' =Amh. *denk;*
fnḏ, 'nose' =Amh. *afenḏâ* (*JAOS*, XXXVII, 21).   *Fnḏ*, 'nose,' I regard as Semitic; cf.
naḏu, šanaḏu, كنض, 'turn up the nose, sneer.'   Rhyme formations are very common
in Semitic.   An interesting case for Ethiopic is *eska*, 'until' =Eg. $i\check{s}t < *i\check{s}k$ (Ember),
Meroitic *šik*, Kunama *ašik* (Schuchhardt, *WZKM*, XXVII, 183).

ECCLESIASTES AND THEOGNIS

By H. Ranston
Kingsland, Auckland, New Zealand

Can we find in the Book of Ecclesiastes any traces of Greek language and thought? Some scholars answer in the affirmative: Pfleiderer believes that Koheleth shows dependence upon Heraclitus; while Tyler, Plumptre, Haupt, Siegfried find what seem to them unmistakable traces of Stoic and Epicurean philosophy. Others (Driver, Peake, Wellhausen, Currie Martin) think that while he never adopted the tenets of any particular school of thought, he was nevertheless influenced by his knowledge of contemporary Greek philosophy. Still others (Jülicher, A. B. Davidson, Cheyne, Barton, McNeile, D. S. Margoliouth) answer in the negative: Koheleth was "a native Hebrew philosopher," everything in his book can be accounted for as a natural development of the native Hebrew wisdom. There is thus wide difference of opinion.

It is well remarked, however, by Montefiore[1] and Toy[2] that Koheleth is within the Bible "an isolated thinker." Cheyne[3] says that "his work is without a model," and there is certainly a difference between his book and the others which seems more than a difference in tone. True, he does not altogether abandon the Jewish standpoint, but his is not the native Hebrew spirit. No wonder many of the Jews, the most optimistic people in history, did not like his book and that the author of the Book of Wisdom set himself to contradict him.

To the present writer, Koheleth compels comparison with the Greek elegiac poet Theognis (ca. 540 B.C.). The writings of both consist of opinions and meditations upon human life and society which seem anything but coherently and systematically arranged. The connections are loose and disjointed; the arguments are little developed; subjects change with startling abruptness; and the opinions expressed appear at times inconsistent. To account for

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, 1892, p. 399.
[2] *Enc. Biblica*, p. 5335.
[3] *Job and Solomon*, p. 203.

these similar characteristics, critics have framed similar theories: the material in the books as they stand at present has in some way become dislocated; or there has been wholesale interpolation of the original texts; or the present books have been built up by several hands; or they are simply collections of the opinions of various sages strung together with little or no coherence or plan; while others adopt the very probable view[1] that the books as we have them at present are substantially the same as when they left the hand of Koheleth and Theognis.

There is no reason for excluding Theognis (*ca.* 540 B.C.) as a possible source for ideas in Koheleth (*ca.* 200 B.C.). From the fourth century B.C. onward there must have been many Jewish scholars who were well acquainted with Greek thought and it is worth noting that Ben Sira who clearly borrows from Koheleth and whose book was written only some twenty to thirty years later is generally admitted to have been affected by Greek culture. Further, the influence of Theognis was widespread. Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) tells us[2] that in his day Theognis along with Hesiod and Phokylides were admitted to be the best teachers of practical morality. For long he was the outstanding Greek moralist; the rising generations were taught his precepts, "he was a standard author in Attic schools."[3] He is quoted in the classical period by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle among others, and both Aeschylus and Sophocles were indebted to him. He was a force in Greece whose influence upon the practical life of the people can hardly be overestimated.

If then Koheleth knew Greek literature at all, he is likely to have been acquainted with the writing of Theognis and, further, the very nature of its contents must have made it specially attractive to him. Comparison of the two books has compelled the present writer to adopt the theory that Koheleth knew Theognis and again and again echoed him in his own work. There are similarities of thought and expression which on this view are most easily explained.

In Theognis the complete dependence of man upon the gods is a common theme. "No one is himself the cause of loss and gain; the

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[1] See Hastings, *DB*, I, 639 for "Koheleth"; Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*; Allen, *Classical Review*, XIX, for Theognis.

[2] Πρὸς Νικοκλέα ii. 43.

[3] Jebb, *Greek Literature*, p. 54.

gods are the givers of both" (133 f.); "No man is happy or poor or bad or good apart from divine agency" (165 f.); "Without the gods nought happens to man, neither good nor evil" (171 f.; cf. 336 f., 444 f., 589 ff.).

Koheleth also believes that all the events of human life are in the hands of God. Of course, this is a fundamental Old Testament idea; to the Hebrew mind God and Providence were equivalent notions. Still, he reminds us of Theognis. All the good in life (2:24 ff.; 3:13; 5:18 f.; 9:7) as well as the evil (1:13; 2:26; 3:10; 6:2) is the gift of God; His hand is in all that happens (cf. 7:13 f.; 9:1 f.; 11:5, etc.). Once, however, Theognis turns from God to man; the Immortals were not to blame for his misfortunes, they rather originated in the violence of men (833 f.). Koheleth, too, speaks of man's oppression of man (4:1 f.), but he regarded it as the ordination of God. Both stress the thought that no man is master of his own life. He lies helpless in the unyielding grip of Divine law whose iron bands he cannot break: "'Tis impossible for mortals to fight against the Immortals" (T. 687). "He [man] is not able to contend with Him that is mightier than he" (Eccles. 6:10; cf. T. 727 f., 817, 1033 f., 1187 f.; Eccles. 7:13; 8:8; 9:1 f.). We need not wonder that this conviction that all was fixed by God should induce in both the exhortation: *Carpe diem*, "get as much enjoyment as possible out of the passing hour."

Koheleth, too, is oppressed by the thought of man's ignorance of the future and his inability to understand God's world or to grasp the meaning of His work: "He has put ignorance[1] in man's heart, so that he cannot find out the work that God does from beginning to end" (3:11); "For who knows what is good for man in life, the number of the days of his vain life, for he spends them like a shadow; for who shall tell man what shall be after him under the sun" (6:12); and the thought in 1:2–11 is that men are ignorant of the experiences of those that have gone before. Cf. also 7:24; 8:17; 9:1; 11:5. In 7:14 Koheleth tells us that good and evil are so mixed by God that man can find nothing out concerning the future. Cf. 8:7; 9:12; 10:14. Theognis also, is oppressed by man's ignorance and intellectual limitations. He, too, charges God with withholding the

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[1] Read with Barton and others עָלָם instead of the difficult עֹלָם. Coverdale also translates "ignorance."

knowledge necessary for man to order his life well, and feels keenly human inability to penetrate the divine plan.   "Nothing is defined by God for mortals nor the road in which a man must go to please the Immortals" (381 f.); "No man toils, knowing within his heart whether the issue be good or ill . . . . our thoughts are vain, we know nothing; the gods accomplished all things according to their own mind" (135 ff.); "No one knows, when a matter begins, where he is likely to land" (585 f.).   "'Tis most difficult to know the end of a matter unaccomplished, how God will bring it to pass.   Gloom is spread over it; before the future comes to pass the issues of help- lessness are not intelligible to mortals" (1075 f.; cf. 160.)

Both, as the result of their survey of the world, conclude that God treats wicked and righteous alike, or even bestows prosperity on the former and adversity on the latter: "How then, son of Cronus, dost thou think fit to deal out the same portion to wicked and just, whether their minds are turned towards moderation or insolence" (377 f.); "The unrighteous and wicked man, shunning the wrath neither of man nor the Immortals waxes wanton and is glutted with wealth, whereas the righteous are worn out, distressed by sore poverty" (749 ff., 589 f.).   In similar strain we have Koheleth: The same fate happens to wise and fool, righteous and wicked; the former have no advantage over the latter (2:14–16; 9:2 f.). Wickedness is rewarded with power (3:16; 4:1; 8:10); rewards in this life are not bestowed in accordance with ability or merit (9:11); nay, more, a righteous man perishes in his righteousness while a wicked man prolongs life in his evildoing (7:15); "there are righteous men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; and there are wicked men to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous" (8:14).   And Koheleth laments that those things increase the evil and madness of the human heart (9:3) while Theognis asks, in view of such Divine dealings, how can anyone reverence the gods?   (747 f.; cf. 279.)

In their references to retribution, however, Theognis and Koheleth are somewhat inconsistent, for both elsewhere teach that impiety is actually punished on earth. This need cause no surprise, since we all know how our own moods change and contradictory ideas find place within us.   Wrongdoing may seem successful for a time; but

sooner or later it issues in destruction (T. 199 ff.; cf. 143 f., 328, 330, 1170; Eccles. 2:26; 5:6; 5:8; 7:17, 26; 8:13; 10:8 f.). Theognis dwells more on the punishment of sin than on the reward of virtue, while Koheleth gives both sides due expression. Cf. further 7:12; 8:5, 12; 11:1, 2. Both mention, further, that God apparently delays in dealing out justice and that this tardiness leads men to imagine they can transgress with impunity, since a wicked man may, at the time, seem to gain by his wickedness. The minds of men are deceived "for not at the very time of the act itself do the gods take vengeance on sin" (T. 203 ff.; cf. 279 f.); "Because sentence against an evil deed is not accomplished quickly, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil" (Eccles. 8:11). Eccles. 5:8 is worthy of special note: "If thou seest the oppression of the poor and the wresting of justice and right in a province, marvel not[1] at the matter for high one above high one is watching—and the Most High over them."[2] Plumptre finds here a distinct echo of the Greek μηθὲν θαυμάζειν. It is worth mentioning that Theognis uses the same phrase: "Marvel not[3] that the race of citizens is obscured, for noble is mixed with base" (191 f.). In the latter part of the verse we have a much-discussed passage, where גבהים is taken as a plural *majestatis*[4] referring to God who in the end punishes wrongdoing. High officer may oppress lower officer but there is One higher than all who will in the end see that justice is done. It is interesting to compare Theognis 199 ff.: Wickedness may seem to prosper and at the time appear successful, but "in the end there is ill; for the mind of the gods is wont to be superior."[5] The peculiar phraseology was probably suggested by these last words in Theognis. High official squeezes petty official—no marvel that, and then almost as an afterthought Koheleth adds "Yea [*vaw* intensive] there is the Most High above these." He is The Superior Officer.

Neither in Theognis nor Koheleth do we find belief in any retribution or redress beyond this life. The former speaks of the man whom the justice of the Immortals does not overtake because

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[1] Septuagint μὴ θαυμάσῃς.

[2] כִּי גָבֹהַּ מֵעַל גָּבֹהַּ שֹׁמֵר וּגְבֹהִים עֲלֵיהֶם׃

[3] μὴ θαύμαζε.

[4] So Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon;* Zöckler; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammar*, etc.

[5] ὑπερέχω, lit. "to be above."

death came beforehand (207). At death all that was worth calling
life was at an end. The place of the dead—good and bad alike—was
in the "much lamenting homes of Hades" (244), "the shadowy place
of the dead whose dark portals confine the souls of the dead against
their will" (708 ff.), when a man dies he "lies long beneath the
ground like a voiceless stone" and though he "be a man of worth
he shall see nothing any more" (567 ff.). All the delights of life
are absent (973 ff., 1191 ff.); man becomes dust; "Soon there will
be some other men, and I, when dead, shall be black earth" (877 f.,
1070a, b). In the same way Koheleth denies a future life in any real
sense of the word. He has no faith in anything beyond death.[1]
At this time the doctrine of immortality was gaining ground among
the Jews and it is probable that Koheleth meant to definitely reject
this growing belief. "Certainly his affirmations of the emptiness of
the future life are many and pointed and they stand, by their dis-
passionateness, in marked contrast with the passionate hopelessness
of Job."[2] The wise man dies as the fool, there is no remembrance
of them forever (2:16). Death reduces good and bad to one level
irrespective of moral distinctions (9:2); man is no better than the
beasts, both go to the same place, both are of the earth and return to
earth (3:19 ff.). "The dead know not anything, neither have they
any more a reward" (9:5), in the shadow world of Sheol "there is
no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom" (9:10). At death
the personality is dissolved into its original sources—earth to earth
and the breath of life to its giver (12:7). Death undoes what the
creative act of God had accomplished.[3]

Further, as they notice all the anomalies of Divine Justice both
come to the conclusion that God is not a Righteous Being. Theognis
expostulates with Zeus for treating good and bad alike and for dealing
with the innocent as if they were guilty and the wicked as if they
were righteous, and bitterly asks how such conduct can be just
(743, 373 ff.). It is a blot upon God's righteousness that he deliber-
ately withholds the knowledge of how to act so as to please Him
(381 f., 135 ff.) and sometimes even a Divine spirit leads man astray
(404). God is a harsh Omnipotence against whom mortals are

[1] Most scholars regard 3:17; 11:9c; and 12:14 as editorial additions.
[2] Toy, *Enc. Biblica,* col. 5335. See also col. 1158.
[3] See Barton in *ICC,* also *DB,* I. 639–40; V. 731b.

unable to strive (687 f.).   But reflection did not lead him to atheism
as in the case of Diagoras of Melos;[1] he never doubts the reality of
God; he advises Cyrnus to "reverence and fear the gods" (1179).
Neither was Koheleth tempted to deny his theistic faith; as a Jew
it could hardly have been otherwise.   Sometimes, indeed, he does
seem to have acknowledged a moral order in the world (3:11, 14;
8:12, 17), but nevertheless, while he never goes so far as to directly
challenge the Divine Justice, he does calmly assume the universal
crookedness of things, that the moral government of the world is
not righteous.   True, he is God-fearing and exhorts his readers to be
the same (5:1, 7; 7:18; 8:12; 12:1, etc.), but it is well said that his
fear is "pale and cheerless."   He regards God's rule as arbitrary
(2:26), He stands aloof from the life of men (5:2).   His references
to the anomalies of Providence have behind them a tacit charge of
injustice against God.   Like Theognis, it seems harsh to him that
while there may be a Divine plan for man, God has deliberately
chosen to veil his wisdom so that he cannot discover it; he neither
knows what is good nor how to order his life; all human under-
takings are thus uncertain and chanceful.   Man is helpless in the
grip of an Austere Being who has doomed him to ignorance.

As Theognis reflects on the Divine dealings he cannot keep back
his feelings of resentment and, although once he does admit that
God could never please everyone (804), he is unable to conceal his
indignation.   "Dear Zeus, I am amazed at thee" (373).   "What
other mortal, as he looks upon this man [i.e., the just sufferer] would
reverence the gods" (747).   Koheleth, however, never directly
gives voice to indignation at God's ways; but it *is* there, lying very
close to the surface of his book.[2]   His belief in God is cold and almost
entirely lacking in religious content.   At heart he is more Greek
than Jew; he is merely a thinker with nothing of that passionate hold
upon God in spite of all perplexities, which is so characteristic of the
Hebrew saint.

The references to chance in Theognis are most interesting.
"Pray to be foremost neither in excellence nor wealth, but simply
let there be luck [$\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$] to a man" (129 f.).   But this good luck is

[1] See *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 184.
[2] Cf. 2:15 ff., 21; 3:10; 4:3; 5:13–16; 6:1, 8; 8:14; 9:3; 10:5, etc.

the gift of God (134 f.), for often even when a man does ill (read κακῶς), heaven gives him in everything good fortune, and he prospers, freed from the consequences of his folly (589 f. adapted from Solon. Cf. 165–66). Therefore the one thing essential is to gain the Divine favor: "May I be fortunate and dear to the immortal gods; then I am eager for no other excellence" (653 f.; cf. 1119 f.).

In Koheleth we have the same idea that events seem to happen by chance. Success is not given where ability and merit are present, "but time and chance happeneth to them all" (9:11). But neither does he look upon the world as the sport of blind chance; for all the events of human life are wholly dependent upon the Divine Will. If men do well it is God who prospers them (2:24; 3:13; 5:19; 7:14; 9:1). It should be noted that both Eccles. 9:11 and Theognis 129 f. are followed by the statement of man's ignorance of the future (9:12 and 135 f.). Eccles. 9:11 merits further attention: "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." The passage Amos 2:14 f. should be remembered, but then again we have Theognis 129 f. just quoted and also "Some toil with good counsel and ill-luck and success does not follow their works" (163 f.; cf. 639 f.). God bestows wealth upon the useless (149, 321, 865); with His aid even the slow man "hath caught the swift in the pursuit" (329 f.); while in 662 ff. he complains that poor man suddenly becomes rich and rich man poor and "wise man fails and glory oft attends the senseless and honour even a base man obtains." The fragment of Pindar preserved by Aristides is also worthy of mention: "In battle it is chance that wins, not strength."[1]

In view of the passages already quoted it is not surprising that both Jew and Greek were pessimists. The ills of men are various, "no one of men whom the sun looks upon is happy" (T. 167 f.; cf. 441, 1014 ff., 373 ff.). "Reverence hath perished; shamelessness and insolence have mastered justice and hold the whole earth" (T. 291 f., 647, 1135 ff.). In Koheleth, mark the ever-recurring "Vanity," "Vanity of Vanities," "All is vanity," as well as the pessimistic references everywhere to the emptiness of life. The book has

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[1] ἐν ἔργμασιν δὲ νικᾷ τύχα οὐ σθένος.

been called "a Catechism of pessimism." But his pessimism is somewhat different from that of Theognis. The latter was mostly occupied with himself, with his own troubles and those of his party,[1] while Koheleth's outlook was wider. He looked beyond himself and his people and habitually contemplated humanity at large and, further, while life was really bad, he did not regard the world as growing worse (7:10). Still, it must be confessed that his pessimism is very un-Hebraic: "a work like Ecclesiastes is a portent in the Old Testament, and alien to the spirit of true Judaism."[2]

The weariness of life leads both writers to long for death. "Of all things not to be born is best, nor to see the beams of the sun; but when born, as swiftly as may be to pass the gates of Hades and lie under a heavy heap of earth" (T. 425 ff.; cf. 1069). It is a common Greek thought.[3] To Koheleth also life was hateful (2:17), the deathday was better than the birthday[4] (7:1); "And I congratulated the dead who have already died more than the living who are yet alive, and (I regarded) as happier than both of them him who had never been born, who has not seen the evil work which is done under the sun" (4:2 f.; cf. Job 3:2 ff.; and Jer. 20:14-18). But Koheleth's pessimism was limited; it was only the man whose soul was not filled with good to whom nonexistence was better than life (6:3), and in the same strain we have Theognis: "May I die unless I find some cessation from evil cares" (343 f.); "Death is better than grinding poverty" (181 f.; cf. 820, 1121 f.). But while they could *write* that life was hateful, they, nevertheless, shrank from actual death, "A living dog is better than a dead lion" (Eccles. 9:4), and since in death there is no enjoyment, Theognis "will feel well at heart so long as without trembling he keeps light limbs and head" (977). Both alike had the deepest horror of death and the old age which is the prelude to death, and with wondrous inconsistency found life really worth living. Neither was, in spite of 4:2 f. and 425-28, after all, weary of life. "God hath made everything beautiful

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[1] Cf. 173 f., 271 f., 289, 343 f., 619, 667, 1197, etc.

[2] Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 251.

[3] Sophocles *Oed. Col.* 1225 ff., Euripides *Fragment* 287; Bacchylides v. 160-61; Palladas, Posidippus, etc.

[4] Strangely like the Orphic reference in Herodotus v. 4. Plumptre quotes also Euripides *Fragment* 452.

in its season" (3:11).   "Truly the light is sweet and it is pleasant for
the eyes to behold the sun" (11:7).

Inasmuch as they were convinced that human life is a misery,
bound as it is by iron law, both Theognis and Koheleth take as their
motto: Get all the joy out of life that comes your way.   Koheleth
writes that "a man hath no better thing under the sun than to eat
and drink and enjoy himself" (8:15); "There is nothing better for
a man than that he should eat and drink and make his soul enjoy
good in his labour" (2:24; cf. 3:12, 22; 5:18 f.; 8:15; 9:7; 11:9 ff.).
Theognis counsels the young man to enjoy himself as long as he is
able (1007 ff.), to drink and rejoice (1047) and to set the mind on
festivities (983; cf. 567 f., 761 ff., 877, 1063 ff., 1070a, b, 1119 ff.,
1192, etc.); and behind the advice of Eccles. 11:9—"gratify thy
desires"—is the same thought as in Theognis 256: "Most delightful
of all is it to gain what one desires."   Koheleth, however, strikes a
higher note than Theognis.   He was no mere sensualist; he never
counsels debauchery (7:25, 6).   His conception of God, cold as it
was, kept him from that.   He nowhere recommends riot and excess
but he has in mind rather the enjoyment of the simpler pleasures of
life in moderation (9:7–10).[1]   Eccles. 5:18 is worthy of further note.
"Behold that which I have seen—a good thing which is beautiful is
it to eat and drink," etc.   Plumptre, Wildeboer, Siegfried, and others
take the strange טוֹב אֲשֶׁר־רָפֶּה as a translation of the well-known
καλὸν κἀγαθόν.   Barton and others point to Hos. 12:9 as a Hebrew
parallel, but this is doubtful.[2]   It may, however, have been suggested
by a phrase in a passage which Theognis adapted from Mimnermus
(1019): τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν.   The poet regards as "agreeable and
likewise beautiful" "the prime of his equals in age."   He is lamenting
the passing of youth and the coming of miserable old age, while in
5:18 Koheleth is stressing his motto—*Carpe diem*—which in 11:9 f.
he again counsels for the very same reason as Theognis in this pas-
sage—the passing of youth and the coming of old age.   What the

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[1] Barton, however, in his commentary, pp. 39 and 162, quotes from a fragment of
the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic which he thinks lies behind Eccles. 9:7–10.

[2] עָוֹן אֲשֶׁר־חֹטָא.   Both Septuagint and Vulgate witness to a different text and
commentators (Harper, Cheyne, etc.) read חֹטָא.   In Eccles. 5:18 the Targum, Syriac
Version, Coverdale's Bible, Revised Version treat אֲשֶׁר as a copula and some scholars
even alter the text to טוֹב וְיָפָה.

latter writes of the flower of youth, Koheleth writes of the pleasures which specially belong to youth: both are agreeable and fair (טוֹב = "pleasant, agreeable," as in 11:7).

In 1135 ff. Theognis complains of man's wickedness; oaths are forsworn; there is no reverence for the gods, "the race of pious folk is perished;" men are sensible neither of ordinances nor order, "but so long as a man lives and sees the light of the sun . . . . let him wait on hope." There is reference to hope in Eccles. 9:3, 4: "the hearts of the sons of men are full of evil, and madness is in their hearts while they live, and after it to the dead! For whoever is joined to all the living there is hope" (for him), etc. There is a difference in the thought but the language is very similar.

Experience taught both that to err is human: "Faults attend mortals" (T. 327, 898, 1027); truly good men are rare; "one man out of a thousand I have found" (Eccles. 7:28); "Judgment and shame attend good men who are now really few among the many" (T. 635 f., 1185 f.). They go still farther and say that the really good are actually nonexistent. "The sun looks down upon no one living who is entirely good and virtuous" (T. 615; cf. 647 and 1141 f.); "Surely there is not a righteous man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not" (Eccles. 7:20).

Both, too, are grieved to see the elevation to honor of the unworthy and the degradation of the noble: "Folly is set in high places often, but the rich [i.e., the nobles, the men of ancestral wealth] dwell in low estate. I have seen servants on horses, and princes, like servants, walking on the ground" (Eccles. 10:6 f.); "Porters rule, the vile have the upper-hand of the noble" (T. 679); "The base . . . . are now ennobled and the nobles are now made base" (T. 57; cf. 515 f., 663 ff., 683 f., 893).

Koheleth's picture of old age is very dark without a single cheering feature such as we find elsewhere in the Old Testament.[1] Then are come the evil days and the years in which there is no pleasure. The dread of old age seems to have cast a shadow over life and in this he reminds us of the common Greek view, so characteristically expressed in Theognis, that when youth and strength wore away, all that made life worth living was gone. There was no pleasure, only pain,

[1] Cf. Prov. 16:31; 20:29; Ps. 92:14, etc.

in the thought of old age. His epithets for it are "baneful," "unsightly," "troublesome," "bad"[1] (272, 527, 768, 1011, 1021, 1132, also 1069). It is not surprising that he as well as Koheleth offers the advice: Make the most of youth, enjoy life while you can. "Let us give our dear spirits to festivals while they can still bear the delightsome works of enjoyment" (983 f.) and in 1007 ff. he advises men as long as they have the bright bloom of youth to entertain sound thoughts in their hearts and to enjoy their possessions; for youth is not given twice and both death and old age—evil and baneful—are inevitable. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy prime and walk in the ways of thy heart and in the sight of thy eyes . . . . and put away vexation from thy heart and remove misery from thy flesh; for youth and prime are vanity," i.e., transitory, fleeting (see whole passage in Eccles. 11:9—12:7).

In common with other Greek writers[2] Theognis regards adverse circumstances as having a demoralizing effect upon character (383 ff., 361, 535 f., 930, 1177); and so also in Eccles. 7:7, where the wise man is the oppressed rather than the oppressor, "For oppression makes a wise man foolish." Further, compare on the oath of God, Eccles. 8:2 with Theognis 823 f. "I (counsel thee) to observe the command [פֶה] of a king, and because of the oath of God"; "Extol not any tyrant in the hope of gain, nor slay him when you have covenanted by oaths sworn before the gods" (θεῶν ὅρκια συνθέμενος).

Again, Hitzig, Hengstenberg, Zöckler and others are probably correct in seeing a close connection between Eccles. 10:6–7 and the following verses. We have there a common idea of Theognis that when undue success attends a man it is but the prelude to ruin (153 f., 605 f., 693, 1175 f.).

In common with men in every age and clime, Theognis realizes the value of true friendship (77 f.; cf. also Eccles. 4:9–12), but both, again, smart under the bitter experience of false friends (Eccles. 7:28 and T. 73 f., 79 f., 87 f., 114 ff., and *passim*). Further, 121 f. seems to throw light on Eccles. 9:1: "If the mind of a friend within

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[1] οὐλόμενος, ἄμορφος, ἀργαλέος, κακός.

[2] Homer *Odyssey* xvii. 322; xviii. 136 f.; Simonides iii. 5 ff.

his breast is secretly untrue, and his heart is treacherous; this is
the falsest thing that God hath made for man, this the most dis-
tressing thing of all to know; for you cannot know the mind of man
or woman before you have proved it . . . . ; nor could you guess
it . . . . for often appearances deceive the judgment." Koheleth
reads "the righteous and the wise and their works are in the hands
of God, whether it be love or hatred man knoweth it not; all before
them is vanity."[1]   The meaning seems to be that man does not know
whether the attitude of his fellows toward him is that of love or
hatred.   In both passages there is the recognition of the Divine
sovereignty in human affairs.   Theognis is here full of the thought
that it is difficult to know the hearts of others, whether they cherish
love or hatred, while in the two previous verses Koheleth is emphasiz-
ing the difficulty of understanding God's ways in the world, however
much man may strive so to do, and then proceeds to say that whether
He has provided love or hatred for men is beyond his knowledge—all
is uncertain.

Theognis has much on the subject of ingratitude.   The mean are
unthankful, the noble only remember good deeds and show their
gratitude in after-time (101–12, 333, 853 f.).   But note 233–34:
"Although he be citadel and tower to an empty-minded people a
good man gets little share of honour."   The influence of this passage
may be traced in Eccles. 9:13–16 where Koheleth is giving an example
illustrating the general principle taught by bitter experience to
Theognis.   In him as in Koheleth we have siege warfare; the poor
(the "good" at this time were reduced to poverty) wise (as opposed
to the "empty-minded") man who saves the city but goes unre-
warded.   Cheyne thinks that Koheleth may be referring to himself
as the savior of the city.[2]   This is likely—the sting of personal
experience is in the passage as also in that of Theognis.

The ingratitude of his fellows compels the Greek to moralize
further: "Let no man persuade thee to love a base man, for what
help is he, though he be a friend? . . . . 'Tis the vainest thanks
one gets who benefits the mean, all one with sowing the waters of

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[1] הכל in vs. 2 is changed to הֶבֶל and connected with vs. 1.   So many scholars
following versions of Symmachus, Vulgate, Septuagint, etc.

[2] *Job and Solomon*, p. 221.

the surging sea;[1] for neither by sowing the waters would you reap a thick crop, nor by benefiting the base would you secure benefit in return" (101 ff.; cf. 333, 955. But cf. 573). We have, too, the similar phrase in Phokylides 152.[2] Plumptre and Zöckler before him have pointed out the parallel here to Eccles. 11:1 f., "Cast thy bread on the face of the waters; for thou shalt find it after many days." Koheleth has in mind the short-sighted exhortation of the Greek teacher and deliberately controverts it. "Be generous; do not be narrow in your liberality, even on the thankless waters scatter broadcast the seeds of kindness; be sure that sooner or later you will be rewarded." The sympathies of Koheleth were deeper and broader (3:16; 4:1; 7:2 f.), he had the sincerest compassion for the oppressed, his feeling for them helped to spoil his own happiness. The cruel sentiment in Theognis (1041; cf. 1217) was altogether alien from his spirit "Hither with the piper! let us laugh and drink beside him that weeps, the while delighting in his grief."

In another point Koheleth contradicts Theognis. The latter states that great deeds are rewarded by an immortality of fame (237 ff., 867), but he disputes this—death means oblivion; he denies even the immortality of remembrance (1:11; 2:16; 9:5–6).

Theognis, like other Greeks, ascribed the origin of sin to God; sin ($\ddot{v}\beta\rho\iota s$) God presents to man as the first and greatest evil (151 ff., 133 f.). In 403 f. he refers to the man whom a Divine spirit leads astray into a great sin, making good to appear evil, and evil good. Further, though not quite consistently, as Plato pointed out long ago,[3] he teaches that vice is innate (429 ff.). It follows that man is not himself responsible for his own sin. God is its primary author, the inborn evil as well as the impulse to sin comes from Him. Koheleth probably had Theognis in mind when he wrote 7:29. "God made man upright, but they have sought out many contrivances."[4] He denies that God is the primary author of evil: men and women are born good; vice is not innate through any divine agency; God made men upright; sin is man's own doing.

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[1] ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἁλὸς πολιῆς.

[2] μὴ κακὸν εὖ ἔρξῃς· σπείρειν ἴσον ἐστ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ.   [3] Meno 95.

[4] יָשָׁר "morally upright"; חִשְּׁבֹן "evil artifices," "tricks."

The Greek moralist has much to say about the use and abuse of wine. It is both good and bad; good when used wisely and bad when used unwisely (475–510, 413, 837 ff., 873 ff., 971 f., 989). Compare such passages in Koheleth as 9:7; 10:17, 19, also 2:3; 2:24; 3:13; 5:18; 8:15.[1] Further, note ll. 211–12 repeated almost exactly in 509–10: "To drink much wine is bad; but if one drink it prudently[2] 'tis not bad but good." This helps to elucidate Eccles. 2:3: "I searched out in my heart how to cheer my flesh with wine (and my heart was behaving itself with prudence) and to lay hold on folly," etc.[3] The phrase "and my heart," etc., is a parenthesis explanatory of the previous words only. Though it is true that Koheleth "retained or tried to retain, his self-analyzing introspection even in the midst of his revelry" (Plumptre) this is hardly the point here; he is rather telling us that his use of the wine was wise and moderate. He did not plunge riotously into drunken excess. True, he experimented with wine to see what good he could get out of it, but he did this with the advice of Theognis in his mind and drank it wisely and prudently.

In Theognis 401–2 we read "Strive after nothing too much: in all the works of men the proper season is best."[4] Plumptre has called attention to the parallel in Eccles. 3:1–8: "For everything there is a fixed season and there is a time for every business under the sun: a time to be born and a time to die," etc.; cf. also 8:6. It is likely that Koheleth is here expanding and applying the idea of Theognis. Every action has its proper time to which it is wise to adapt ourselves. But unfortunately, as both complain immediately after, who can be sure that he knows this proper time; man walks in the dark. Theognis follows up his statement that the proper season is best by another, that careful foresight may just as easily lead a man wrong as right, since, led astray by a Divine spirit, he mistakes good for evil and evil for good (403 ff.); while Koheleth continues his observations about the appropriate times for everything

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[1] Cf. also Ps. 104:15; Prov. 31:6 f.; Sir. 31:25 ff.

[2] ἐπισταμένως.

[3] וְלִבִּי נֹהֵג בְּחָכְמָה. נֹהֵג = "behaving itself" as in New Hebrew; see Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon.* p. 624.

[4] See also 723, 919; the lyric lines of Sodamus. Hesiod *Op.* 694 and cf. *Op.* 765 ff. with Koheleth's times and seasons.

with the remark that God has put ignorance in man's heart so that he cannot discover His plan in the world (cf. 6:12; T. 381, 135, 1075 f.).

Koheleth writes very strangely in 7:16–18: "Be not righteous overmuch; neither make thyself overwise. . . . . Be not overmuch wicked, nor be a fool; why shouldest thou die before thy time? It is good that thou take hold of this, and that thou refrain not thy hand from that; for he that feareth God goes along with both"— he does not exceed the just medium, but strives to keep to the middle course.[1] Clearly we are in a Greek atmosphere here. The words are not ironical but perfectly serious; you may sin to a moderate degree as long as there is no excess; avoid all extremes in folly or wisdom, piety or sin; give a share to all, but ever take the middle course. This is surely not the native Hebrew spirit. It is probably an echo of Theognis who again and again stresses the necessity of doing "nothing too much" and "going the middle way." "Strive after nothing in excess; the mean is best of all, and thus you will have excellence which is difficult to obtain" (335; cf. 219, 331 f., 401 f., etc.).

In Eccles. 3:12, לַעֲשׂוֹת טוֹב is taken to mean "to do good"[2] rather than "to fare well." Plumptre comments "doing good is in some sense the best way of getting good." This is the meaning of Theognis 573, "Do good and get good."[3] The same thought is recognized in the advice of Eccles. 11:1 f., be liberal and benevolent, you will be repaid sooner or later.

Like Koheleth Theognis praises wisdom (cf. Eccles., chaps. 2, 7, and 9; T. 218, 789 f., 876, 1074, 1157). He also prays that while ever keeping his wisdom[4] he may delight himself in music, dance, and song (789 ff.). Somewhat similarly Koheleth (2:1–9) tells us that he indulged in enjoyment of every kind, but all the time (vs. 9) his wisdom remained with him.

Both, again, can see some good even in the disorders of the world. Theognis remarks that the mean and the noble are proved thereby:

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[1] So Rashbam, Hitzig, Ginsburg, etc., with Vulgate and Syriac versions—יִרְאֵ אֶת־כֻּלָּם.

[2] So many commentators, following Targum, Septuagint, and Vulgate.

[3] εὖ ἔρδων, εὖ πάσχε.

[4] "Prudence," "sound judgment," as in 218, 1074 f.

good are sifted from bad (393 ff., 1105 ff.). And we have Koheleth
(3:18), "I said in my heart *it is* on account of the sons of man, that
God may sift them," etc.[1]

The pagan moralist preaches the manly duty of bravely facing
trouble, "What Fate has decreed 'tis impossible to escape; but what
Fate has decreed I will suffer without fear" (817 f.; cf. 320, 355 f.,
398, 441 ff., 555, 657, 696, etc.). But especially note ll. 1029 ff. and
591–94: "Be patient, my heart, in troubles, even though your
sufferings are intolerable; the hearts of base men are too hasty";
"It is right to endure the gifts of the gods to mortals and to readily
bear the lot of both (weal and woe); neither in misfortunes be over-
much vexed nor in good fortune be suddenly delighted, until you
have seen the extreme end." In 7:8 f. Koheleth treats the same
thoughts in reverse order: "Better is the end of a thing than its
beginning; better the patient of spirit than the haughty of spirit.
Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry," etc. There is also 7:14
where in regard to God's gifts of good and evil we are advised, "In
the day of prosperity be in prosperity and in the day of adversity
look upon adversity."[2] When all is well use your prosperity wisely;
be contented and happy (cf. T. 320, 355, 397, 443) and when mis-
fortune comes bear it with courage. Further in 11:6 we have the
exhortation: Bravely do your duty day by day; do not falter by
reason of the uncertainties attached to all human undertakings and
bear all adversity in a becoming spirit.

In common with teachers the world over, anger is regarded as
unwisdom. "Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry; for anger lodges
in the bosom of fools" (Eccles. 7:9); "Restrain thy mind, let gentle-
ness ever attend thy tongue; the heart of the mean is too hasty"
(T. 365 f.); "Do not for slight reason ruin a friend. . . . . If one
should be angry at the faults of his friends in every instance, never
would there be concord and friendship one with another, for faults
attend mortals" (T. 323 ff.; cf. 897 ff.). Further, deeds wrought
in anger injure the doer: "Nothing is more unrighteous than anger,
which harms its possessor by meanly indulging passion" (T. 1223 f.),

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[1] Vss. 16 and 18 are closely connected; vs. 17 is an interpolation.

[2] ראה . ביום טובה היה בטוב וביום רעה ראה [וברעה] seems to require
ברעה to complete the sentence.

and so probably Eccles. 8:9 which begins an independent sentence.[1] "There is a time when man has power over man to his own[2] hurt."

Both roundly condemn empty boasting. "Never talk great words in public, for no man knows what a night or day brings to a man" (T. 159 f.): "'Tis not right to swear; 'this will never happen'; for the gods are angry in whose hands lie the issue" (T. 659 f.). Compare Eccles. 10:12 ff.: "the lips of a fool shall swallow up himself. The beginning of the words of his mouth is folly, and the end of his speech is wicked madness. The fool speaks great[3] words, yet man knows not that which shall be; and what shall be after him who can tell him?" Koheleth is referring not merely to talkativeness, but to boastful assertions concerning the unknown future. The fool talks as if it were an open scroll before him. It is a thought found elsewhere in the Old Testament.[4]

It is also the mark of the fool to think that he alone is wise and all other men wrong. "Whoso thinks his neighbour knows nothing, but that he only understands subtle matters, *he* is without sense [ἄφρων], reft of sound mind" (T. 221 f.). "When the fool walks in the way his sense is lacking and he says of everyone,[5] he is a fool" (Eccles. 10:3). A further characteristic is that the fool attends to other people's affairs more than his own. "Foolish is he who has my mind in safe-keeping but pays no attention to his own private affairs" (439 f.). Similar is the meaning of Eccles. 10:2 in view of the close connection with vs. 3: "The mind of a wise man is at his right hand, but the mind of a fool is at his left." The wise man's attention is in the right place, attending to his own affairs; the fool's is in the wrong place, attending to those of others. In proof of this is the fact that when he goes about his own sense is lacking and he calls everybody else a fool. Note also along with the figure in 10:2 that of 2:14: "the wise man's eyes are in his head" and compare with both the somewhat similar figures in Theognis (1163–64), "In the wise, eyes, tongue, ears and man's mind are naturally in the midst of their breasts."

[1] So Vulgate, Luther, Ginsburg, McNeile, etc.

[2] So Vulgate, Symmachus, Hitzig, etc.

[3] וְרִבָּה דְבָרִים: see Job 34:37 and Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon*, pp. 915–16.

[4] Prov. 27:1; Isa. 56:12.

[5] So Vulgate, Symmachus, Barton, McNeile, etc.

Again, speech without direction is censured; there are times when silence is best. "Speech is wont to bring many false steps to mortals when the judgment is disordered" (T. 1221 f.; cf. Eccles. 10:12 f., also 3:7; 5:2, 3, 6; T. 73, 295, 365, 421 f., 613, 625, 659).[1]

Both offer the advice—Be circumspect when you enter the house of God. It behooves, says Theognis, a man whom religious duty brings to the temple at Delphi "to be on his guard and go straighter than compasses, rule and square" (805 f.), while Koheleth similarly advises caution: "Guard thy feet [i.e., keep them straight[2]] when thou goest to the house of God."

Counsel is given to their readers to keep the peace by yielding to circumstances. "Be adroit in changing from one appearance to another, for wisdom, let me tell you, is better than an unbending front" (T. 217 f., also 1070 f.); "If you are doing well 'tis not meet to change, but to keep quiet; but if things go wrong, keep moving until you have put them right" (303 f.). Compare Eccles. 10:4: "If the anger of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place for soothing quiets great offences."

Moralists of every age have written of wealth. Still the following similarities are worthy of mention. It is not always bestowed by God where most deserved, "nor yet riches to men of understanding" (Eccles. 9:11); "The divine power bestows wealth even on a man altogether bad" (T. 149); "many dunces have wealth" (683; cf. 153, 161, 321, 865). Both are impressed with the insatiability of avarice: "The eye is not satisfied with riches" (Eccles. 4:8); "He who loves silver will not be satisfied with silver, nor who loves riches with gain: this also is vanity" (Eccles. 5:10); "No limit of wealth has been made manifest to men; for those now amongst us who have most substance are eager to double it; who would satisfy all? Wealth, to be sure, becomes folly to mortals" (T. 227 ff. adapted from Solon); "You could not sate the desire for wealth" (1158; cf. 462). Fortune, too, is very changeable (Eccles. 5:14; 6:2; 9:11 f.; 10:6–7; T. 157, 318, 557, 662 ff.; see, however, 197, where Theognis states that wealth sent by God and gained justly remains steadfast). The acquisition and possession of riches mean

[1] It is an Old Testament thought (Prov. 10:14; 12:13; 18:7; Ps. 64:8; 140:9).
[2] See Ginsburg, p. 335.

only sorrow and labor (Eccles. 2:18; 4:6, 8; 5:11–13,[1] 17; T. 153, 230, 605, 276). It is of interest to find that both couple together wealth and wisdom: "Wealth and wisdom to mortals are ever unconquerable"[2] (1157): "Wisdom is good like an inheritance: yea, more excellent is it for them that see the sun. For wisdom is a defence[3] even as money is a defence," etc. (Eccles. 7:11 f.). The commonplace[4] is repeated that no man can take his wealth with him when he dies (Eccles. 2:18; 4:8; 5:15; T. 725 f.). Further, money is a help (Eccles. 7:12; T. 524, 1157); it rules the world and in human eyes is the supreme virtue (Eccles. 10:19; T. 718, 523, 621, 699 f., 904, 929 f., 1117 f., 1157 f.). But wealth can be held too dearly; after all, there are things more valuable: "Better is a handful with quietness than two hands full of toil and striving after wind" (Eccles. 4:6; cf. Prov., 15:16, 17); "I do not long nor pray to be rich, but be it mine to live modestly and find no harm" (T. 1155). Koheleth states that wisdom is better than wealth (7:11 f.) and Theognis, borrowing from Solon, declares that he will not take in exchange the wealth of the base rich for his own excellence, since the latter is ever steadfast and riches are not (315 ff.; cf. 865 f., 719 ff.).

In 915 ff., the Greek teacher tells of a certain rich man who lived sparingly, never allowing himself food fit for a free man and before he had finished (i.e., gained as much wealth as—he desired) he descended to the house of the dead and the chance-comer[5] received his wealth and so he labored in vain and did not give it to whom a man would wish, i.e., to children of his own. In similar language Koheleth also writes of a rich man, "There is a lone man, without a second, he has neither son nor brother, but there is no end to all his toil, yea, his eye is not sated with wealth. For whom (saith he) am I labouring and depriving myself of good? This also is vanity and an evil task" (4:8). Theognis, too, complains that he has been dispossessed of his wealth and that others hold his flourishing fields

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[1] Commentators quote the striking parallel in Xenophon's *Cyrop.* viii. 3, 40.

[2] ἀμαχώτατον.

[3] צל "protection," "defence."

[4] Ps. 39:6; 49:10; Job 1:21; Sir. 41:1, etc.

[5] οὑπιτυχών, evidently he had no blood-heirs.

(1200, 825 f.), while Koheleth tells of a rich man robbed[1] of his means which a stranger[2] now enjoys (6:1 f.).

They both utter warnings against inordinate desire; unattainable things must not be sought after: "Better is the sight of the eyes than the wandering of desire" (Eccles. 6:9); "Never set thy mind on impossibilities; nor long for wealth, of which there is no accomplishment" (T. 461 f.).

Like Theognis, Koheleth can appreciate the virtues of a good wife: "Enjoy life with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of thy vain life" (9:9).[3] "Nothing is sweeter than a good wife" (T. 1225; cf. 1126 ff.). Nevertheless, both lash out against woman apparently under the smart of bitter personal experience (Eccles. 7:26–28; T. 581, 959 f., 459 f., 1368 in B). It is, however, a well-known habit of man to gird at woman.[4]

The phrase תַּחַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ ("under the sun"=on the earth) is peculiar in the Old Testament to Koheleth who uses it twenty-nine times. Plumptre and others regard it as the equivalent of the common Greek ὑφ' ἡλίῳ; but Barton thinks it was a phrase characteristic of the period. It may, however, have been suggested by the use in Theognis of ἠέλιος καθορᾷ (168, 616, 850; ἐφορῶοι in 1184). In Theognis 425 ff. we have "Of all things for men-of-earth 'tis best not to be born and not to see the rays of the piercing sun."[5] Scholars have pointed out the parallel in Eccles. 4:3, "And (I regarded) as better than them both [i.e., dead and living] him which hath never been, who hath not seen the evil work which is done under the sun." Further "to see the sun"="living," is found in Eccles. 6:5; 7:11; 11:7, and in Theognis 1143.[6] The passage 11:7: "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun,"

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[1] So Ewald and others.

[2] אִישׁ נָכְרִי.

[3] So, too, 12:1 if with Graetz, Cheyne, Haupt, etc., we read בּוֹרְךָ instead of בּוֹרְאֶךָ. The emendation, however, is doubtful, though neither grotesque nor unworthy: see *DB* I, 639b.

[4] See for example, the Greek Florilegium of John Stobaeus LXXIII, Taylor's edition of the Jewish *Pirķê Abôth*, pp. 15 and 137; Latin authors, such as Plautus and Terence, and even English writers as Aytown, Byron, Hill, and Dryden.

[5] ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου.

[6] Also, however, in Ps. 58:8.

especially reminds us of line 569 where Theognis speaks of death as leaving the delightful light of the sun."[1]

Several students see in Eccles. 1:5 a reference to the idea of the chariot of the sun drawn by panting steeds. Others believe such a notion to be un-Hebraic and therefore impossible. Barton accepts the idea here, but his and Haupt's contention from II Kings 23:11, that the Israelites were familiar with it is far from proved.[2] It is interesting to note that the idea is found in Theognis 997.

Koheleth is also conscious of being superior to others in wisdom and knowledge (1:16; 2:15; 12:9 ff.); and in giving expression to it he but follows Theognis who claims "signal knowledge of wisdom" (769 f.); that none of the unwise can imitate him (370) and that when compared with others he has a superior power of mind (4:18; cf. 447, 755, 945). Theognis, again, says that "Mere opinion is a great bane to men; experience is best" (571 f., 1104a, b) and Koheleth acts fully in the spirit of the line (chaps. 1, 2; 3:10, 16, 22; 4:1, 4, 7, 15; 5:13, 18; 7:25; 8:9, and *passim*). Neither gives expression to "mere opinions"; in both we have summed up the results of solid reflection upon lives full of most varied experiences.

The lines in Theognis 769 ff. merit special attention. "'Tis meet that the servant and messenger of the Muses if he has any signal knowledge of wisdom[3] should not begrudge it, no, he must seek after ($\mu\hat{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) some things, present some ($\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$) and compose ($\pi o\hat{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu$) others; to what profit is his sole knowledge?" Here we have the Greek's own view of his function as a poet. Inasmuch as he was intellectually superior to other men he did not keep his wisdom to himself but taught it; he sought out the writings and thoughts of others and such as he had tested and approved or even modified were presented along with his own original work.[4] With these lines compare Eccles. 12:9–10. In view of 1:16 and 2:15 there is no reason to suspect these verses on the ground that the self-praise

[1] Most commentators quote also the similar expression in Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1219: ἡδὺ γὰρ τὸ φῶς λεύσσειν.

[2] See *DB*, IV, 628–29.

[3] εἰ τι περισσὸν εἰδείη σοφίης.

[4] See Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* and Allen in *Classical Review*, XIX, 389.

is unlike Koheleth;[1] while the uncommon language may be due to his having in mind the passage in Theognis. "And because Koheleth was superior in wisdom[2] he taught the people knowledge; yea, he tested and made search and set in order many proverbs. Koheleth sought to find words of fact[3] and he wrote uprightly words of truth." Compare this passage with that of Theognis. In both the possession of superior wisdom is felt to carry with it the responsibility of teaching it. Then follows the exposition of their methods of work. Both sought out[4] the writings of others and such thoughts as were tested and approved they presented. But neither was merely a literary borrower; their own experience and observation furnished much of the truth they taught. Theognis composed ($\pi o\iota\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$) some things of his own while Koheleth sought to find facts and wrote honestly the truth as he saw it. The similarity between the two passages is striking.

Comparison of the two books has led the present writer to the conclusion that Koheleth knew the work that went under the name of Theognis, whether it came from the pen of Theognis himself or is, as many think, a compilation. He knew it so well that often he reproduces the thought and sometimes even echoes the language.[5] True, there are differences; for in spite of his un-Hebraic lack of religious warmth Koheleth was, after all, a Jewish theist and this kept him within due limits. But he was a mere thinker with nothing of that sense of Divine fellowship which ever characterized the Old Testament saint. A Greek scholar, he must have been acquainted with Theognis "the Greek moralist par excellence," and since his

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[1] So Plumptre and Barton.

[2] It is difficult not to think that יֹתֵר in vs. 9 was very early misplaced by a scribe who confounded it with the one in vs. 12 a little further down and that it belongs to חָכָם. The Targum seems to have understood יֹתֵר מִכֹּל with חָכָם; the Septuagint reads strangely καὶ περισσὸν ὅτι ἐγένετο Ἐκκλησιαστὴς σοφός, ὅτι ἐδίδαξεν κ.τ.λ. and the Vulgate gives "Cumque esset sapientissimus Ecclesiastes, docuit populum," etc. Perhaps the original text was read: וְשֶׁהָיָה קֹהֶלֶת חָכָם עַד־יֹתֵר (or יָתֵר) לִמַּד־.

[3] So Marshall taking חֵפֶץ = "matter" "business," as several times elsewhere in Koheleth (3:1, 17; 5:7; 8:6).

[4] Cf. Ben Sira 39:1 ff.

[5] It is noteworthy that Professor D. S. Margoliouth in his article on "Ecclesiastes" in the *Jewish Enc.* thinks it possible that Ecclesiastes is an adaptation of a work in some other language.

own survey of life had led him to somewhat similar conclusions it
was but natural that in writing down the results of his own reflections
he should be guided by his knowledge of the opinions of the Greek
teacher.   Of course, some of the ideas are not peculiar to these
writers; sages everywhere and at all times have given expression to
them; and the fact that similar types of mind may produce similar
ideas quite independently, must not be forgotten; nevertheless, the
best explanation of the facts seems to be found in some connection
between the two writings.   At any rate, whether there is a connec-
tion or not the similarities are of interest to the Bible student.

THE TOLEDO COLLECTION OF CUNEIFORM TABLETS

By S. Langdon
The University, Oxford, England

The Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Arts possesses a small collection of thirty-one cuneiform tablets, of which the writer published seventeen in *Babyloniaca*, Vol. VII, from copies made during his visit to the United States in 1913. Unfortunately this article perished in the destruction of Louvain in 1914, but a few off prints survived. These will furnish material for a duplicate article as soon as we are able to continue our periodical. Since my last visit to the Toledo Museum a few inscriptions have been added. Most noteworthy is a perfect duplicate of the Marada inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, No. 2 in my *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* and No. 2 in the German edition (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Vol. IV). Also a duplicate of the Sin-gašid inscription, Thureau-Dangin, *VAB*, I, 222b, has been acquired and numbered 29 in the collection.

No. 30, a small unbaked clay cone, is new and reads as follows:

1. *ᵈSin-ga-ši-id*
2. *nitaĝ-kalag-ga*
3. *lugal unug-(ki)-ga*
4. *lugal am-na-nu-um*
5. *ú-a é-an-na*
6. *ud é- an-na*
7. *mu- dū- a*
8. *é-gal*
9. *nam-lugal-la-ka-ni*
10. *mu- dū*

Sin-gašid the mighty man, king of Erech, king of Amnanu, care-taker of Eanna, when he had built E-anna, built a palace for his royalty.

A similar cone, which I saw in the hands of a dealer in London, carries the same inscription without lines 6–7.

No. 28 is a case tablet containing a receipt for grain.   The case has an illegible seal impression, probably of the creditor Sibê.   The provenance is unknown and the contents reveal peculiarities.

TOLEDO MUSEUM, No. 28

5
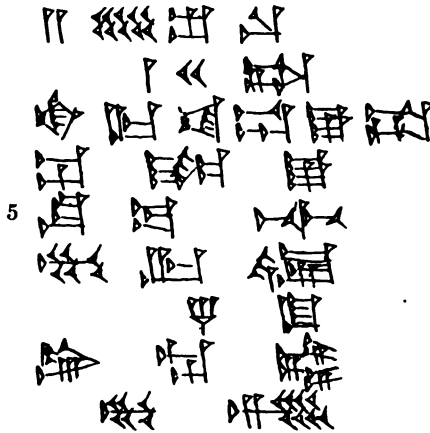
$\frac{2}{3}$ *še-gur-ka*
  80-*ta*
ki ur-éd[1]-e-ta
si-bé-e
šu-ba-ti
mu ur-dun
    nindá-tûb
galu ma-gan
mu-zid

160 *ḳa* of barley ($\frac{2}{3}$ *gur* at the rate of 80 *ḳa*) from Urede, Sibê has received. Year in which Ur-dun, the . . . . a man of Magan, was established in office.

In the city where this transaction took place the *gur* according to this remarkable statement contained 400 *ḳa* instead of the usual 300 *ḳa* of that period.   Various sizes of the *gur* must have been in use.   For example the *gur* of Akkad and the *gur-sag-gál* of Marada are mentioned in *PBS*, IX, 122.

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[1] Delitzsch's reading *ed* for the ideograms *UD-DU* and *DUL-DU* =*aṣû* is supported by *ud-dé-a*, Langdon, *Paradise*, II, 19.   Hence *ud-du* is really a phonetic reading.

The date is unknown to me.   The title *nindá-KU* is well known in neo-Babylonian times and a few examples will be found in Meissner, *SAI*, 9359.   It occurs also in a document of the late Assyrian period, Peiser, *Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke* No. 1, l. 2, the *nindá-KU* of Dilbat.   See also *CT*, 21, No. 1, 29.   The title occurs in pre-Sargonic times, Nikolski, 13 Rev. VII, where the sign *KU* (*REC*, 467) is followed by *ba*, hence the title was read *nindatub*.   In the Toledo tablet *KU* has the variant form *REC*, 469.

In the last line *mu-zi(d)* is probably a variant of the ordinary formula *ba-zíd*, "he was established."   In the date formulae at Ur this word *zid = kânu* is invariably written *KU = REC*, 469.   Since *zid = kânu* was only once documented in the syllabars (Br. 10528), the phrase has been left untranslated in the date formulae.   Fortunately the Toledo tablet clears up the difficulty.
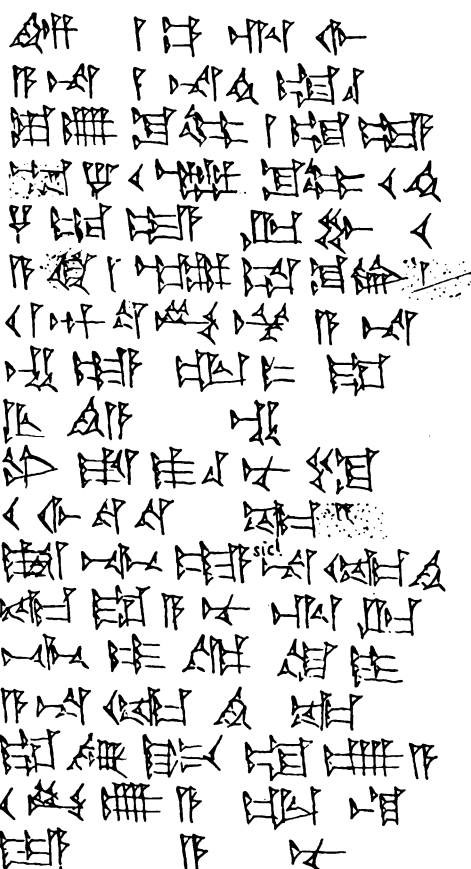
No. 31 is an interesting letter of the neo-Babylonian period.

1. *duppi Šamaš-ri-ši*
   a-na Na-din abi-šù
   lu-ú šu-lum ana abi-ịa
   ᶦˡᵘen ?-gar u ᶦˡᵘnabû šu-lum u balaṭam
5. *ša abi-ịa liḳ-bu-u*
   a-mur ᶦˡᵘNabû-mukîn-ḳāti(amel) . . . . .
   u ᶦˡᵘŠamaš-aḫi-iddin a-na
   bêli-ịa al-tap-ra
   šipâti bêli
10. *lù da-aš- šù-nu-tu*[1]
   u ši-pir-tu-ka
   it-ti-ịa [a]-na muḫ-ḫi
   ka-ra-a-nu tal-lak
   ti-i-di ki-i
15. *a-na muḫ-ḫi-ka*
   ra-aḫ-ṣak abu-ú-a
   u aḫu-u-a al-la
   ịa-a-nu

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[1] *iddan, idan* is employed for the preterite of *nadânu* in the late period.

Letter of Šamaš-rîši to Nadin his father.[1]   "Verily let peace be upon my father.   May the gods En(?)-gar and Nebo command peace and life for my father.   Behold I send Nabû-mukîn-ḳāti the . . . . and Šamaš-aḥi-iddin

TOLEDO MUSEUM, No. 31

unto my lord.   Wools may (my) lord give unto them, and may thy letter concerning the wine come unto me.[2]   Thou knowest that I have put my trust in thee.   My father and brother—lo they are not."

[1] abu is employed here in the sense of "protector, patron."

[2] Uncertain, the phrase is not clear to me.

Nippur 7023: In Toledo Museum No. 28 the title *ninda-túb* obviously designates an official of importance, since a year was chronologically designated by the record of his elevation to that office.   A tablet in perfect state of preservation in the Nippur Collection No. 7023 proves that the *ninda-túb* was a temple official and entitled to the temple revenues for the second month of each year. The text itself is reserved for the official publications of the University Museum.   I give it, therefore, in transcription only.

    1. *nam-lù-nindá-túb-ba é ^{d}Nusku*

       mu-a iti-2-kam

       kù-ta-šàm[1] ki i-lì-e-ri-ba-am

       Ri-im-Ašdar dumu-meš mu-na-we-ru

    5. *ù na-we-ir-tum ama-ne-ne*

       Lù-é-šu-me-rá dumu ^{d}Šamaš-^{d}Enlilla

       in- šám-a

       ki Lù-é-šu-me-rà-ta

       ^{d}Nusku-ilí[2]-šu dumu ili-šu-ib-bi-šu-ú

    10. *in- ši- in- šám*

Rev.   *šàm-tíl-la-bi-šú*

       4½ gìn kù-babbar

       in-na- an-lal-e

       PA-lugal[3] é ad-da-ni in-duġ

    15. *ud-kúr-šú Lù-é-šu-me-rá-ge*

       ù abil-a-ni a-na-me-a-bi

       nam-lù-nindá-túb-ba é ^{d}Nusku mu-a iti-2-kam-ma-šú

       gù-nu-um-gà-gà-a[4]

       mu lugal-bi in-pad

    20. *igi li-bi-it-Ašdar nu-éš ^{d}En-lil-lá*

       igi i-lì-A-e-epiš[5] mar ab-lum

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[1] For the use of this term, Semitic *šímatu*, "purchase," see Poebel, *BE*, VI, Part 2, p. 14.

[2] *NI*.

[3] So also Poebel, *ibid*., No. 37, 9. But in No. 66, 10 *PA-AN*, i.e., *garza = parṣu*, "edict"; see also 57, 9. This proves in all probability that the original reading was *garza-lugal*, "royal edict," and by metonomy came to mean, "right to a temple income by royal edict."

[4] For the subjunctive of indirect discourse see *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 164 above.

[5] Cf. ^{ilu}*É-a-epiš*, Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 55, *a-e* for *é-a* occurs also in a Cappadocian tablet copied by Sayce in this museum. *A-e* is, therefore, the true pronunciation and the old reading *Ea* is to be abandoned.   The Greek rendering *Aos* in Damascius also proves that *Ae* is the true reading.   Delitzsch many years ago expressed his preference for this reading.

igi a-we-li-įa bur-gul
igi ^{ilu}*Ninurašā-ga-mil dup-šar*
iti ab-è ud 18-kam
25. *mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal*
    á-ág-gà ^d*En-lil-lá-ka*

The office of the *nindá-túb* of the temple of Nusku yearly for the second month, which by purchase from Ili-eribam, Rîm-Ašdar, the sons of Munamir, and Namirtum their mother, Lu-Ešumera the son of Šamaš-Enlil had purchased, from Lu-Ešumera Nusku-ilišu son of Ilišu-ibbišū purchased.

As its full price, 4½ shekels of silver he will weigh out. The royal legacy of his father's house he redeemed. "In future days Lu-Ešumera and his sons as many as there may be, will not enter complaint for the office of the *nindá-túb* of the temple of Nusku yearly for the second month," they swore in the name of the king.

Four witnesses. Tenth month; eighteenth day. Twenty-eighth year of Samsuiluna.

Critical Notes

HEBREW TEXTUAL NOTES
NEH. 12:8, עַל־הַיְּדֹות

Etymologists have not yet come to an agreement about the abnormally pointed form of the foregoing word. Of the two pointings הַיְּדֹות and הַיְּדֻות in the various manuscripts, König in *Lehrgeb.*, II, 479, considers הַיְּדֻות as the only justifiable writing, in order to derive it from a Piel stem הִיֵּד. However, no trace of such a root can be found.

The difficulties in the explanation of this word may be met if we see in it a double pointing of the Masorites: one of them being based on the Kthibh, the other offering a Qrê. We must therefore consider הַיְּדֹות as the original pointing. This brought about the two readings with ֹו or ֻו, because the copyists did not perceive the necessity of preserving a ו provided with two vowel-points. Thus we obtain the forms הַיְדות and הַיְּדֻות. The same explanation of a double pointing of a word without being annotated specially in the margin may be applied to Ps. 7:6, יִרְדֹּף, as Qal or Piel, to Isa. 59:3; Lam. 4:14 נְגֹאֲלוּ as Niph. or Pual.

a) The form of the Kthibh ידות gave rise to the Septuagint translation ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν, thus confirming, though incorrectly translating, the consonantal text. Some translate it better ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξομολογήσεων, which confers on ידות the meaning "song of praise, hymn." The word is formed like דְּמֻות, עֲנֻות (=דִּמָה, עָנָה), from ידה "sing, praise," thus expressing the abstract verbal idea. Its existence is vouchsafed for by its derivative ידֻּתוּן "singer" or collectively a "band, a company of singers," as in Pss. 39, 62, 77. Because the vowel of the article could easily be supplied it remained unwritten.

b) That the second form הַיְדות was to be pronounced הַיְּדֻות may be surmised from proper names like עַמִּיהוּד, אֲחִיהוּד, אֱבִיהוּד, which have as their second element the masculine הוּד, from which the feminine הוּדָה was derived. Both forms occur in connection with the prefix *y(a)* in the name of a town, Josh. 19:45, ידָד and in the tribal name יְהוּדָה. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, recognizes only a formative *ya*. Inasmuch as the last-mentioned names show clearly that the short vowel of the prefix is not *a*, we must assume that the phonetic conditions here occasion a change in the vowel of the syllable *ya*. Nouns, which are built up on three strong consonants preserve the

original *a* of the prefix *ya*. If, however, in derivatives of the middle weak verbs only one consonant stands between the prefix *ya* and the long *u* of the second syllable, thè Hebrew language allows back-assimilation. In the word יַלְקוּט the two consonants לק prevented any influence of the *ū* on the vowel *ă;* on the other hand *יָקוּם became יָקֻם; thus arose forms like יָבוּס, יָעוּט, יָטוּר, Aram. יָצוּל; cf. Hebr. מְצוּלָה. This permits us therefore to establish a word הוּדָה "song of thanks or praise," for thus is Judah's name explained, Gen. 29:35, "Now will I praise the Lord." The parallel verbal expression in I Chron. 25:3, עַל־הֹדֹת וְהַלֵּל יהוה serves as a support for the meaning discussed here.

EZEK. 30:9, יֵצְאוּ מַלְאָכִים מִלְּפָנַי בַּצִּים

God is threatening the Egyptians with messengers of his who shall arrive in boats or ships, according to most interpreters. But coming from God, which ocean have these messengers to cross, in order to reach their goal in "ships"? Why is the definite article used and the irregular plural צִים for the more accurate צִיִּים? In Num. 24:24 the influence of the following מְיַד with its doubled *y* has determined the use of a simplified form צִים.

According to the translation of the Septuagint, σπεύδοντες or ἐν ἐπείξει, it appears that this word is not to be analyzed into בְ and צִים, but that it must be rgarded as an abbreviated ptc. praes. of an ע״ע verb in the plural. This rare formation of the participle is discussed by Halper, *ZAW*, XXX, 49. The root בָּצִץ "to haste, hurry," seems to be used only here; might it be due to Babylonian influence? In Aramaic we find בַּע aph. "to do something quickly, hasten a thing," ittaph. "make haste." As a proper translation of the Ezekiel passage we obtain the version: "messengers shall go out from before me, fast ones."

II SAM. 20:14, וְכָל־הַבֵּרִים וַיִּקָּהֲלוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ אַף־אַחֲרָיו

After Sheba suffered a severe defeat at the hands of David, he fled with his followers to Abel-beth-maaka and כָל־הַבֵּרִים. This evidently seems to indicate that the Masorites took this expression together with Maaka as a place-name. Klostermann recommends an emendation הַבַּכְרִי on account of Sept. πάντες ἐν Χαρρί. Dhorme prefers a correction בְּהֻרִים, because the Latin version and some Greek manuscripts have *omnesque viri electi* and πάντες ἐκλεκτοί. That these changes of text are not at all required may be gathered from the following discussion of this debated term. בֵּרִים shows the same form as the proper name בֵּרִי in I Chron. 7:36. To equate this with בְּאֵרִי Hos. 1:1 was only a makeshift, permitted on account of the apparent lack of a root foundation. As the name רֵעִי is derived from רֵעַ "friend, mate," בְּקִי from בֹּק inf. "spreading, expansion," כָּבִיר from כָּבַר ptc. praes.

"fading, pining away," by means of the formative *ī*, so בְּרִי points to a preceding בַּר. This, however, is likewise the basis of the plural בָּרִים in the Samuel passage; thus witnessing to the correctness of the form. The form is a contracted *qatīl* participle with passive meaning from √בָּרַר "separate, choose," as elucidated in *ZAW*, XXX, 51 ff.; it stands on the same level with תֵּל, שֵׁן, קֵץ, בֵּן. In later writings בָּרוּר, the regular passive participle, is employed in the same sense of "chosen man, select company, élite troops"; Assyr. *bēru*, "chosen, selected (of people, gems, clothes)" may be adduced for comparison.

In Assyr. *biḫru* "chosen troops" and in Isa. 9:16 בַּחוּר we have a development of the same kind out of בחר. Hab. 3:14 פְּרָזָיו = Sept. δυναστῶν or ἀρχηγούς and Vulg. *bellatorum* may be connected with Arab. *faraza*, "separate, set aside" and is to be translated "chosen warrior, leader." According to Arab. *farzaᵘⁿ* "queen (in chess)" the singular פֶּרֶז may be established for the foregoing word.

The only necessary change for the Samuel passage consists in placing the Athnach of בָּרִים under the preceding מֶעֶבָה. This provides us with a subject for the following verbs. The present pointing leaves this to be inferred from the context solely. הַבָּרִים standing in contrast with Sheba is placed for emphasis' sake as a *casus pendens* at the head of the statement followed by וַיַּקְהֵלוּ (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§ 111*h*, 143*d*).

PS. 5:1, אֶל נְחִילוֹת

The musical annotation אֶל נְחִילוֹת in Ps. 5:1 has been considered by etymologists as a resolution of a נְחִלָּה from חלל "pierce," meaning "a pierced, hollowed reed, a flute." König, however, in his *Wörterbuch* translates this term "heritages." But why not base an etymology on Assyr. *naḫālu*, "excavate, hollow out," *niḫlu*, "pit, hollow," *naḫlu, nuḫḫulu*, "strait, narrowness" (Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*)? The meanings נַחַל "valley" and "shaft of a mine" are derived from this source. In Arabic the idea of "hollowing out" has been narrowed down to "sieve" = *manḫalatun, munḫulᵘⁿ; naḫala*, "to sift, snow." נְחִילָה is then a *qatīlat* formation with a passive sense, "something hollowed out." A like development may be observed in Syr. *abbūḇa*, "flute," from נבב "be hollow."

JOB 12:21, וּמְזִיחַ אֲפִיקִים רִפָּה

The difficulty of this verse lies in the fact that the word מְזִיחַ occurs only in this passage, and that אָפִיק cannot be taken in its usual meaning of "stream, river bed." The Septuagint has combined the two words and translated them with ταπεινούς δὲ ἰάσατο, a guess resulting out of the equation רִפָּה = רָפָא. Because the verses surrounding vs. 21 contain parallel ideas in both halves of each line, because even its structure appears to be

patterned after vs. 20, we are forced to see in מְזִיחַ a noun formation. To assume identity with מֵזַח "girdle" is not warranted by the circumstances; for the girdle as a symbol of power is imagery taken from Germanic mythology, to the Semite it denoted rather readiness to begin a task, an undertaking, or even hard work and slavery (cf. vs. 18).

Just as מְטִיל (Job 40:18), "forged rod," is derived from טוּל "be long, stretch out," as מְלִיצָה from לוּץ and מֵפִיץ from פוּץ, מְזִיחַ may be referred to the Aram. זוּחַ "rise, lift"; Hiph. "raise the courage, overbear, pride one's self, boast." That other forms of this root are not extant is due only to the limited literature preserved, for its existence is testified to by Ben Sirach 8:11 אַל־תָּזוּחַ מִפְּנֵי לֵץ. It is evident from the preceding that מְזִיחַ has to be taken as "pride, overbearing."

אָפִיק = Arab. 'afīg^{un}, "excelling in science," 'afiga, "reach to the utmost degree of science, generosity," is a *qatīl* form like נָדִיב or שָׂרִיד, i.e., "wise, learned man." רִפָּה may be taken as a causative as in other instances "make weak, drop, throw down." Job 12:21b is then to be translated, "and the pride of the learned he brings down." The parallelism with vs. 21a (it is God), "who pours out contempt upon princes," is the best guaranty for the correctness of this translation.

ISA. 11:5

בָּעִים has been connected with the Arab. *gaimat^{un}*, "thirst, inner heat," in the modern dictionaries. The Arabic word itself is of infrequent occurrence and has found no support from other Semitic languages. The Masorites would certainly have pointed בְּ with a compound *Šᵉwâ* if according to their opinion the word was composed of בְּ and עָיִם; the fact, that they used a simple *Šᵉwâ* under the guttural עַ proves that they took this syllable as a closed one and did not regard the בְּ as the preposition. Nor do the old versions sustain the above-stated modern view; cf. Greek (πνεύματι) βιαίῳ, Syr. qᵉṭīra'īth, Latin, *in fortitudine*. If we take יָדוֹ as subject of the sentence, we obtain the translation: his hand[1] will shake over the river his wind בָּעִים. From this context it is evident that this ἅπαξ λεγόμενον must be either an adjective (cf. Greek) or an adverb (cf. Syriac). Now the Hebrews gave definite adverbial force to words by means of the derivative suffix ־ִם like חִנָּם (v. König, *Lehrgebäude*, II, 253). To judge by the analogy of חֲלִי to חֶלְיָה, צְבִי to צְבִיָה, שׁוּבִי to שׁוּבִיָה, the form בָּעִים leads us to a fundamental בְּעִי, it may be the same as in לֹא־בְעִי in Job 30:24. The root בָּעָה "swell, bubble, boil over" occurs in Isa. 30:13; 64:1; בְּעִי would mean "swelling, overbearing, pride" = Aram. בְּעָיָא; Arab. *baḡai* impf. *i*, means "swell and suppurate (wound), overflow (a valley),

[1] יָדוֹ might also be taken as instrumental case; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, III, §332 u.

rain hard; transgress," *baḡiᵘⁿ*, "heavy rain"; *baḡiⁱⁿ*, "agile, fast horse." בָּעִים referred to this root, must mean "beyond the normal, energetic, strong, powerful."

EZEK. 7:7, בָּאָה הַצְּפִירָה אֵלֶיךָ יוֹשֵׁב הָאָרֶץ

The difficulty of this passage lies in the word צְפִירָה; in Isa. 28:5 "crown, wreath" is the accepted definition. Out of this König (*Wörterbuch*) obtains "cycle, fate," i.e., "dire fate." Such a development from "crown"— an expression of power and happiness—to "distress, disaster" is without parallel. If we keep now in mind that the prophet Ezekiel was surrounded by Babylonians, we may surmise that their language colored his diction and influenced his use of terms. צְפִירָה may be a trace of such influence, for there exists in Assyrian a verb *çapâru*, "to rub out with the nail [צִפֹּרֶן], to scratch out" (*Journal Asiatique*, Sér. 10, Tome XVI, 138). Many a scribe probably corrected thus his mistakes on the soft clay tablets by rubbing them out with his thumb nail. This procedure originated the term צְפִירָה, "destruction, end," intelligible also to the Hebrews because they too were acquainted with the use of clay tablets. This translation finds support in the Septuagint rendering πέρας.

ISA. 31:8*b*–9*a*

Duhm and Marti pronounce these verses as not being Isaianic on account of their contents. But inasmuch as prophecies of the future distress of the present oppressors are usual among the Hebrew prophets, this view may be revised, especially if, in reconsidering the Masoretic pointing, we may be able to remove some of the main stumbling-blocks for the acceptance of Isaianic authorship. And here the LXX serves as a lodestar to a more probable interpretation, fitting nicely into the context. It reads οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι ἔσονται εἰς ἥττημα, πέτρᾳ γὰρ περιληφθήσονται ὡς χάρακι. Instead of the syntactically difficult לְמַס, the Septuagint read probably the Niph. inf. of מָסַס "melt away, disappear, perish"; we might read לְמֹס (for לְהִמֹּס cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 51*l*). The word מַס means only a "tax, a tribute, an impost" either of money, products or workmen, a levy; now to lay under or appoint for tribute service, as is apparently meant here, requires a more forcible verb like נָתַן or שׂוּם than the colorless הָיָה offered, because of the passively abstract character of מַס. The phrase הָיָה לְמַס, the Greek translator's reading, is attested by many instances, where הָיָה לְ in union with an *infinitive* expresses "to be destined for, be about to." If this passage is now translated, "his warriors shall melt away, perish," the first clause with its pointing נֵס לוֹ would contradict such a statement. To gain a parallel expression, a pointing נַס instead of נֵס may be introduced, a noun derived from נָסַס "mourn, lament" in Isa. 10:18; Assyr. *nasâsu*, "mourn bitterly,"

nissatu, "bitterness, mourning," *nassu*, "sorrowful, grievous" (see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*). The phrase is built like מַר לִי "bitterness (has happened) to me," so נֵס לוֹ "lamentation, mourning (is coming) to him." The misunderstanding of the word נֵס lead the LXX and the oriental recension to take לוֹ as the negative לֹא, because they justly felt the disagreement between the "fleeing" Assyrians of the first clause and their "perishing" in the second. Grammatically this לֹא cannot belong to the verb, for its position after it does not allow such a view; and if we parallel it with לֹא־אִישׁ and לֹא־אָדָם and read לֹא־מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב "he will flee—not before the sword"—but before some other agency of destruction, we expect this other alternative to be more clearly defined, for this contrast has nothing of the self-evident in opposition to לֹא־אִישׁ, namely God. All this argues for the recognition of a noun נֵס in this passage. After a discussion of the fate of the people, vs. 9 proceeds to describe the lot of its leaders and masters. סַלְעוֹ cannot be taken as a locative "*to* his rock"; its place at the head of the sentence, as well as the lack of a preposition, speaks against such a construction. Cheyne already recognized that the parallelism with princes requires סַלְעוֹ to be considered as the subject. If this is accepted, then the direction to which his "rock" passes over is not given, and the statement lacks some of the force exhibited in the parallel clause, as we shall see. To obtain it, we have to read instead of יַעֲבוֹר on the strength of LXX περιληφθήσονται the form יְעֻבַּר, the Qal of which according to Gesenius-Buhl *Handwörterbuch*, pp. 5 f., is found with the meaning "come upon, overcome, overwhelm, meet with." The prophet proclaims then his conviction that Ashur's king, its rock—symbol of strength, refuge and lasting existence—shakes with fear, when the sword of לֹא־אִישׁ = God is unsheathed to punish them.

In the following clause Septuagint read ὁ δὲ φεύγων ἁλώσεται, must also have taken מִנֵּס as Hiph. ptc. and סֹרִיו perhaps combined with שׁוֹרֵר "bind." Grätz emends on the authority of Symmachus בִּמְעֻנֹתָם. To get the same, yea, a stronger expression, it is only necessary to point בָּנֵס: its princes will be too terrified to take to flight.

The text resulting out of the preceding considerations reads as follows:

וּבַחוּרָיו לָמַס יִהְיוּ   וְנֵס לוֹ מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב

וְחַתּוּ מִנֵּס שָׂרָיו   וְסַלְעוֹ בִּמְגוֹר יְעֻבַּר

These two verses in this form, testified to by the LXX whose translators were not biased by theological considerations, form an apt expansion of the main utterance in vs. 8a. Their forcefulness reveals them as having come from Isaiah.

<div align="right">H. GEERS</div>

MEMPHIS, TENN.

A FIRST-DYNASTY LEGAL SETTLEMENT

Among the Babylonian tablets owned by Smith College is a group of contracts and notes from the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon. A number of these documents would appear to have come from south Babylonian sites and, when dated, to be from the reigns of the kings Rim-Sin, Ḫammurabi, and Samsuiluna.

The one published herewith is a legal settlement between a married woman and her husband on one side, and the woman's father and father's house on the other over the status of a child, whether adoptive or by birth does not appear. The father of the woman had undertaken to secure certain care and advantages for the child and there was a possibility of a confusion of claims because of the expense which had been incurred. To make the matter perfectly clear and establish beyond question the status of the boy,
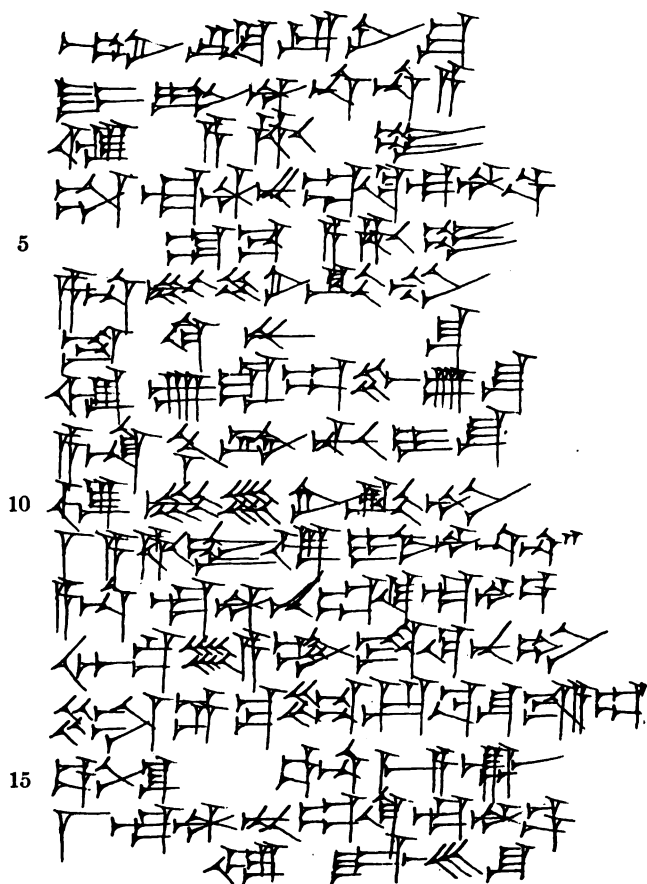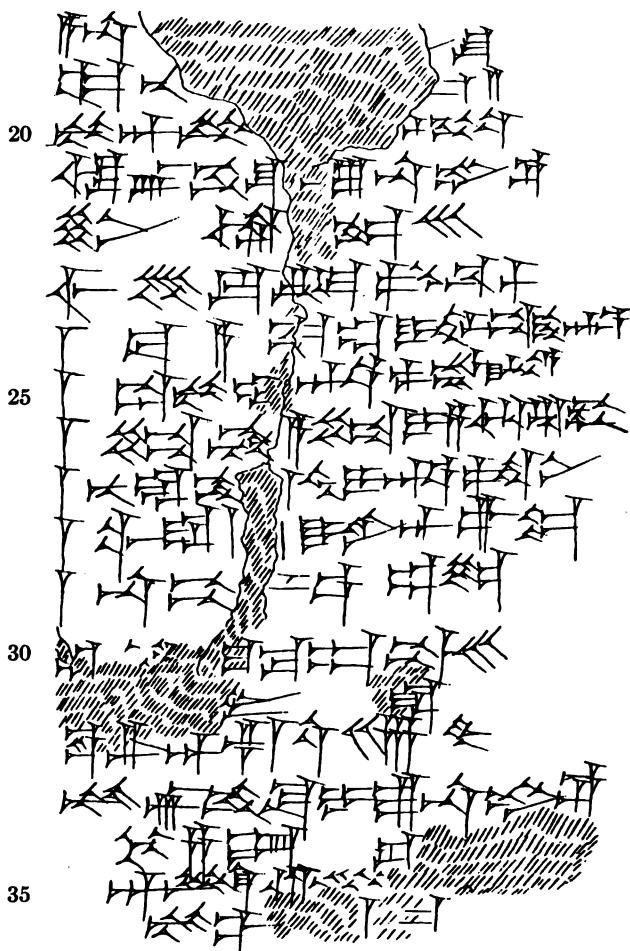
the parents paid to the woman's father twelve *kur* of grain. He acknowl-
edged receipt, professed himself satisfied, and assured the parents of the boy
that there would be no claims in the case by himself or his children. As
usual the oath was taken in the name of the gods and the king and witnesses
are named with the statement that the witnesses' seals have been impressed
on the document. Usually the seals of one or two witnesses are all that
appear on the tablet. In this case the seal is practically illegible. Probably
the tablet once had an envelope.

The date is partly broken away but is clearly the 26th of Elûl in the fifth
year of Samsuiluna. A tendency to variation from the usual formula is notice-
able in the substitution of the syllable *šàg* for *sag* in the line with *Nannar*.

TRANSLITERATION

1 *aš-šum* ^d*Sin-ib-ni-šu* 2 *mar I-din-*^d*na-na-a* 3 *ù A-ḫa-tum* 4 *ša Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-*^d*Šamaš* 5 *ad-da A-ḫa-tum* 6 *a-na mu-še-ni-iḳ-tim* 7 *id-di-nu-šu* 8 *ù ú-ra-ab-bu-ú-šu* 9 *a-na tar-bi-ti-i-šu* 10 *ù mu-še-ni-iḳ-tim* 11 ^f*A-ḫa-tum ù I-din-*^d*na-na-a* 12 *a-na Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-*^d*Šamaš* 13 *12 kur še-a-am id-di-nu-šum* 14 *li-é-ku li-ib-ba-šu ṭa-a-ab* 15 *u-kur-šû u-na-me-a-ak* 16 ^m*Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-*^d*Šamaš* 17 *ù marê-*^{meš}*-šu* 18 *a-na [*^d*Sin-ib-ni?]-šu* 19 *inim-nu-[ ]-mà-a* 20 *mu* ^d*Nannar [ ]* ^d*Marduk* 21 *ù Sa-am-su-[i-]lu-na lugal-é* 22 *in-pad-de-*^{eš} 23 *maḫar Še-ib-*^d*Sin pa gu-uš-par* 24 ^m*Ba-a-ku-um mar Im-ta-gar-*^d*Šamaš* 25 ^m*Du-mu-uq-*^d*Šamaš PA-EDIN-GI-A* 26 ^m*Li-šir-a-li mar Za-ar-ri-kum* 27 ^m*Nu-ra-am-? mar* ^d*Šamaš-pa-te-ir* 28 ^m*Wa-ra-a-[a] mar Awil-*^d*Mar-tu* 29 ^m*Na-bi-*^d*Šamaš dub-šar* 30 *kišib [lu-inim?]-ma-ab-bi-*^{meš} 31 *ib-ra* 32 *waraḫ elûlum ûm 26* ^{-kam} 33 *mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-é* 34 *gu-za bara-ge [* 35 ^d*nannar šàg [dug-ga?]* 36 *mu-un-[na-an-dím-ma]*

TRANSLATION

Concerning Sin-ib-ni-šu the son of I-din-Na-na-a and A-ḫa-tum whom Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-Šamaš the father of A-ḫa-tum placed out for nursing and they reared him. For his rearing and nursing A-ḫa-tum and I-din-Na-na-a have given to Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-Šamaš twelve kur of grain. He has received it, his heart is satisfied. In the future at no subsequent day shall Ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-Šamaš and his sons make any claim to [?Sin-ib-ni-šu].

It is sworn in the name of the divinity Nannar [?] and Marduk and Sa-am-su-i-lu-na the king.

There follow seven witnesses and the statement that the seals of the witnesses have been impressed. The date is the 26th of the month Elûl, in the fifth year of Samsuiluna the king. For the title in l. 25 see Brünnow 4528, 6307, 2543, etc.; also Delitzsch, *Sum. Glossar*, 86, 151.

ELIHU GRANT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

A SYRIAC INCANTATION BOWL WITH CHRISTIAN FORMULA

Rev. Professor H. Hyvernat, of the Catholic University of America, has kindly placed in my hands an incantation bowl which is in his possession. It contains eleven lines of spiral inscription. I present the following transliteration:

מזמן הנא קמתיה כבשא ואסורא וחתמתא ונטרתא

דביתא דילי די נורי בת גילוי דביתה גברה ובנה ובנתא

[והו] זאראזא מן כול שאדא ודיוא דטרין בה בביתא

הנקיתא ועוגדתא דהיאותא וניזדון מן בביתה דנורי
בת גילוי אמין אמין סאלה בשׁום הליך מלאכא
מחימנא אינון מיכיאיל מלאכא ורופ[ריא]יל מלאכא
. . . יא מנטרנא און יוהביאיל וברקיאיל מלאכא
ביתא אנתון מלאכא במחיתכון נטרו ביתא דילי
די נורי בת גילוי אמין אמין סאלה בשׁום אורך ס . .
בשׁום אבא בטים ברא . . . . ו[ב]רוחא ק[דישׁתא
הנא הוא חתמתא

The following line and a half is illegible, concluding with בת . . . . דאלהא.

TRANSLATION

"Appointed is this (charm?), 'press,' and bond and besealment and warding of my house, of me Nuri daughter of Giloi, of her house, her husband and her sons and her daughters. And this is an equipment against every demon and devil, which are lodged in the house; the Strangler and the pains of childbirth, that they may flee whoever are in the house of Nuri d. of G. Amen, Amen, Selah.

"In the name of these angels—faithful are they—Michael the angel, and Ruphael the angel—warders are they: Yohabiel and Barakiel the angel. The house—do you angels by your stroke protect my house, of me N. d. of G. Amen, Amen, Selah. In the name of Oran ———. In the name of the Father, in the name of the Son . . . . [and] in [the holy Spirit]. This is the besealment."

The text is in almost every point similar to those from Nippur which I have published in my *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Babylonian Section, Vol. III, 1913). The script is that of the Syriac texts published in that volume (Nos. 31–37), a sample of which I published in *JAOS*, XXXII, 434, "A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans." I have shown that this script is the peculiar type of Syriac characters which the Manichaeans employed for transcribing their literature into Turkish.[1] In this bowl the final *nun* differs from that of my earlier texts, being a sort of composition behind the wedge-shaped character used there and the long stroke of the final *nun* in the Estranghelo script. The double points for the plural and the point over the feminine suffix are used, although not consistently. In one case a Mandaic *tau* is used, and in writing the word "Selah," the *aleph* is expressed with a

[1] I may note Lidzbarski's recent study of the relations of this script, "Die Herkunft d. manichäischen Schrift," *SGBA* (1916), p. 1213.

Serto character. I have noted this mixture of scripts in the bowls I have studied. There is depicted on one side the figure of a sorcerer waving a magic branch (cf. my *Texts*, No. 4). On one side of his body is written אל שׁדי; the phrase on the other side is illegible.

Of the two proper names, Giloi is noted in my Glossary. Nuri is Semitic. The third word קבּתיא may be a foreign word of unknown origin, parallel to the following terms indicating the amulet; or we might think of קבּיעא. The plural pronominal form, אוך חיאותא, I take to be plural of חיות; for meaning, cf. היּה, "woman in childbirth."

The novelty in the text is the Christian Trinitarian formula at the end. First the Jewish angels are invoked; then comes the "name" of some potency I cannot identify (cf. ארירך in my Glossary; I have tried to make "Armasa," out of it, which appears frequently in the Nippur texts); this is probably a pagan element. The new religion builds up on the old formulas with the name of the Trinity. Unfortunately the whole phrase is not legible. My parentheses indicate the defective portions. But I have no doubt that we have here for the first time a case of Christian usage of the ancient practice of bowl incantations.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

ותועפת הרים לו (Ps. 95:4)

Has it ever occurred to the scholar that תועפת הרים is the same as תועפות ראם in the vaticinations of Balaam son of Beor? When the idea came to the writer it seemed to derive support from the fact that in Assyro-Babylonian both pronunciations were found, *rêmu* and *rîmu*. Besides that, in Job 39:9, 10 we have רים; if the vowel be an obstacle, let us read unvowelled texts of Job and Psalms without prejudice and see whether the removal of bias will help us. How probable is it that the הַ in הָרִים is the article, is the first question. Though Delitzsch in his comment on Ps. 95:5 draws attention to יבשׁת being without the article, he admits that הַיָּם has the article—"um dem Worte mehr Körper zu geben." According to our view, he could have similarly explained the הַ in הָרִים.

In Num. 23:21 (see also 24:8) we have כתועפות ראם לו; prophetic language (the afore-mentioned Balaam son of Beor[1] is speaking) is, like popular song, often archaic: naturally the article is absent. For both these passages Onkelos gives the rendering: תוקפא ורומא דיליה.

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[1] It is of interest to note that Bala'am, coming from the הררי קדם (of Mesopotamia), is the first to speak (in the Pentateuch) of the ראם; later, Moses, in his blessing of the tribes descended from Joseph, says וקרני ראם קרניו.

The passage in Ps. 95, the starting-point of our investigation, is rendered by another Aramaic paraphrast: וְתוּקְפֵי רוּם טוּרַיָּא דִילֵיהּ. In Onkelos' rendering the particle כְּ "הדבמיון is ignored: he does not render the words according to what the unsophisticated reader would believe to be their correct analysis, viz., that God who brings him [Israel] out from Egypt is like תּוֹעֲפֹת רְאֵם to him [to Israel]; ignoring that כ, he translates the passage as though the תּוֹעֲפֹת הָרִים belonged to Him, i.e., to the God who brought them out of Egypt, possibly deriving support for this from the fact that in one of those two passages we have the reading מַוֹצִיאָם, with third person *plural* suffix. How much weight the Psalmist's וְתוֹעֲפֹת הָרִים לוֹ may have had in determining Onkelos' idea of the connotation of לוֹ in Num., chaps. 23 and 24, is worth considering. Students of phonetics and experts in haplography and dittography might tell us how מְבַצְּרִים affected the termination of the immediately preceding מוֹצִיאָם and מוֹצִיאוּ.

Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 610, includes תּוֹעֲפֹת among forms derived from יָעַף and translates *defatigationes*. The *defatigationes* of the רְאֵם appears to mean those heights which would weary a רְאֵם to surmount. Therefore the Lord would be like an impregnable fortress to Israel—thus Balaam would appear to speak in the language and style of simile, but since the Hebrew poets preferred metaphor, which dispenses with the כְּ "הדבמיון, this may explain how the כ of the passages in Numbers had, though kept in the original text, been virtually slurred, even before the passages themselves were rendered in a fashion blissfully oblivious of the existence of the *bos bubalus*.

תּוֹעֲפֹת כֶּסֶף, from the root יָעַף, might mean "silver obtained with great labor," unless we accept the signification of mines as indicating their source. In the latter case תּוֹעֲפֹת הָרִים in Ps. 95 would not mean what we, considering it to be contrasted with מֶחְקְרֵי אֶרֶץ, had thought it to mean—"the dizzy heights," but "the burrowings, the caverns," and rather similar to its antecedent phrase. Let us satisfy ourselves as to what kind of an animal the רְאֵם or רֵים is. The lexicons record רֵים (Job 39:9, 10), רְאֵים (Ps. 92:11), and רְבֵים (referring us to Baer, *Lib. Pss.* 91) under רְאֵם; no writer appears to have thought of including הָרִים or הָרֵים. Of רָאִים the *Thesaurus* notes "ubi 52 codd. defective רֵאם." (בֶּן)רְאֵמִים) Ps. 29 is parallel to עֵגֶל (calf); in Isa. 34:7 רְאֵמִים is parallel to פָּרִים עִם אַבִּירִים. רְאֵמִים in "36 codd." is found instead of רְבֵים in Isa. 22:22. רְאֵם in Deut. 33:17 is parallel to בְּכוֹר שׁוֹרוֹ "has horns." In Ps. 22, מַקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים עֲנִיתָנִי, the horns are plural (though ordinarily we might say dual), but so are the רָאֵמִים or רְבֵים, just as we speak of "the heads of those people," each person having but one head.

But we wish to know whether they used these horns as they charged down a hill which had cost them so much trouble to ascend, or did they fight by preference on level ground, before we enter into the question whether תּוֹעֲפוֹת means "elevations" and whether it is rightly translated ὕψη in LXX, and is to be connected with Arabic *yafa'a* "to ascend." In other words, was the רְאֵם a mountain animal, did he struggle with the יָעֵל (see what Ps. 104 has to say: "the highest mountains are for the gazelles, the rocks are a shelter for the conies")? Ever since the *Thesaurus* was published the conviction has grown that רְאֵם, as well as its Babylonian etymon, is the designation of a kind of buffalo, an animal known to the old Germans as aurochs and to Julius Caesar as *urus*. But was it a good climber, could it scale steep mountains? The idea that it was a unicorn (or a rhinoceros) appears to have been dismissed with the words "unfortunate translation," as a writer on "Natural History of the Bible" remarks, not realizing that his translation of תּוֹעֲפוֹת by "strength" is really just as unfortunate, though it goes back to Targumim.

One thing else that we note in Ps. 29 is that, as in the case of father-ox and mother-cow, it was not the fully matured רְאֵם that danced, but the בֶן רְאָמִים, parallel to עֵגֶל (calf), though "the mountains skipped like rams" (and the hills like lambs). Targum and Peshitto kept רִימְנָא (with exceptions above noted in the case of Targum). Onkelos uses רִימָא (emphatic state of רִים) as equivalent for דִּיטוּן (Deut. 24:4), a name whose root apparently is דוּשׁ "to tread down, to crush with the feet."

In Isa. 34:7 we have וְיָרְדוּ רְאֵמִים עִמָּם, which may be taken to mean that *from the mountains* "the רְאֵמִים will descend" to be slaughtered, with the result that the land will be irrigated with their contribution of blood.

From Job 39:9, 10 we get the idea that like the פֶּרֶא of the preceding verses the רִים was untamed and untamable הֲיֹאבֶה רֵּים עָבְדֶךָ אִם יָלִין. With עַל אֲבוּסֶךָ הֲתִקְשָׁר רֵים בַּתֶּלֶם עֲבֹתוֹ אִם יְשַׂדֵּד עֲמָקִים אַחֲרֶיךָ reference to the פֶּרֶא, it is stated in vs. 8 יְתוּר הָרִים מִרְעֵהוּ וְאַחַר כָּל יָרוֹק יִדְרוֹשׁ. This would seem to apply also to the רִים and thus we may account for the fact of immediate mention of this animal.

While reading the last paragraph in proof (type enlightens the eyes and the mind) it occurs to me. in connection with הָרִים in vs. 8, that we get more sense out of 8, 9, and 10 if we translate "the reem" and consider it the subject of יְתוּר (i.q. יְתוּר). It would then appear that the speaker, after referring to characteristics of the species as a whole, goes on (in succeeding verses—9 and 10) to ask, "Will a reem consent to serve thee . . . . ?" In poetry יְתוּר (future Kal of an ע״וֹ verb) does not require pretonic Kametz. Note that LXX renders it as a verb, viz., Κατασκέψεται.

ARTHUR A. DEMBITZ

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

THE SOLAR BARKS OF MORNING AND EVENING

In the morning the sun-god, Rêᶜ, traversed the heavenly ocean in the bark m^cndt; in the evening he rode in the bark $m\acute{s}ktt$. How are these names to be explained? The final t is clearly analogous to the t in $M\acute{s}\underline{h}nt$, goddess of birth, from $m\acute{s}\underline{h}n = \underline{d}bt\ n\ m\acute{s}wt$, "birth-brick," $< *\acute{s}\underline{h}n$, "give birth" (for etymology see my forthcoming article on Egyptian etymology), etc., and has an adjectival force like the *nisbe* or the Semitic ending *ân* (Heb. וֹן־). Hence there must have existed once the words $*m^cn\underline{d}$, "morning," and $*m\acute{s}kt$, "evening," corresponding to Coptic ΜΑΝ̄ΠΕΙΡΕ = מְזְרָח, and ΜΑΝ̄ϨШΤΤ̄ = מֵערב.

The stem $^cn\underline{d}$ (i.e., $^cn\breve{g}$), "be healthy, unblemished," is a synonym of $w\underline{d}3$, the Arabic وَضُؤ, "be bright, clean," as was pointed out years ago. Ember has identified $^cn\underline{d}$ with عَلِج, "heal" ($^cil\breve{g}$ is "stout," $^cn\underline{d}$ = "fat"). The primary meaning of the stem $w\underline{d}3$, وَضُؤ is "go out, rise," as we know from the other Semitic languages. We can hardly avoid the conclusion, therefore, that $*m^cn\underline{d}$ has usurped the place belonging rightfully to $*mw\underline{d}3$ = בוֹצָא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, $c\hat{u}\ \check{s}am\check{s}i$. After $w\underline{d}3$, like وَضُؤ, had shifted its meaning to "be bright, pure, unblemished," $*mw\underline{d}3$ changed its connotation accordingly, and gave way to a new coinage, $*m^cn\underline{d}$. Similarly, in Assyrian, $nipi\underline{h}$ $\check{s}am\check{s}i$ took the place of $c\hat{u}\ \check{s}am\check{s}i$ as the expression for "sunrise."

The stem $\acute{s}kt$ is more recalcitrant. Ember would combine it with $\acute{s}k$ (in $i\underline{h}mw\ \acute{s}k$, the circumpolar stars, which do not set) = שׂוּךְ, "sink." This is only possible if the stem is *tertiae infirmae* (Erman, $Gr.^3$, § 402), since only in this case does the infinitive have the feminine ending, a law which also seems to apply to nouns with prefixed m. We have in both, of course, a conformation to the triconsonantal type, as in the other Semitic languages. Since the structure of the stem $\acute{s}k$ is doubtful, a combination with $\acute{s}ki$, "destroy, be destroyed," is to be considered. Naturally, this may be the same stem. A connection with سَكَت, "die," primarily "be silent" (= שׂקט, שׂתק; the ט is partial assim. to the ק, itself perhaps due to the שׂ), is also worth considering. For the conception that the sun dies every evening and is reborn every morning (good Egyptian mythology), cf. Haupt, *AJSL*, XXXIII, 48. Parallels are numerous. بَاد = "perish," and "set, of the sun"; Assyrian $b\hat{a}du$, "evening." Assyrian $\check{s}al\hat{a}m\ \check{s}am\check{s}i$, "sunset," seems to mean "death of the sun"; cf. $\check{s}alamdu$, "corpse," $>$ שְׁלַדָּא.[1] $Rab\hat{u}\ \check{s}a$ $\check{s}am\check{s}i$, "set, of the sun," is connected with רְפָאִים, "shades" (also in the

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[1] The basic idea is, of course, "be whole, well"; "die" is euphemistic. Šalâm šamši can hardly mean "completion of the solar course."

Phoenician texts[1]); see Haupt, *loc. cit.* Eg. *ḥtp*, "set, of the sun," "go to rest," is حتف , "die" (Ember). As in *occasus solis*, we are left in doubt as to whether the meaning "die" is behind "set" in an individual case, or whether "die" may not have arisen from the euphemistic "be silent, go to rest, set (of the "Lebenssonne," Sum. *zi-ud*)."

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

[1] Another Phoenician word for "shades" is רפסים, in the famous Bôd-ʿAštart inscription. ארץ רשׁפים can hardly be rendered "Flammenerde," as Lidzbarski wished at first to translate it. "Muspelheim" is not what is usually called a "Semitic" conception, in spite of the Egyptian *iw n nśrśr*, "isle of flames." I would rather connect this רשׁה with נשׁה, "evening"; cf. the הרי נשׁה, Jer. 13:16. The original meaning of נשׁה is, of course, רוח הירם; cf. روح = Eg. *ru-ḥa* > Coptic ⲢⲞⲨϨⲈ, "evening." For the *r* cf. נשׁם, لـمـل, نسم, and רמשׁא, "evening"; *napâšu, rapâšu*, "be wide, spacious," etc. Thus רשׁפים would be an exact parallel to רפאים. Another parallel is Eg. *imnti*, "west, Hades," whence Copt. ⲀⲘⲚ̄ⲦⲈ. We have no evidence that רשׁם, Apollo, was lord of the underworld, like Nêrgal.

Book Reviews

A COPTIC PSALTER

The publication of the Freer Manuscripts is progressing apace. The Coptic material has been placed in the able hands of Mr. William H. Worrell of Hartford Theological Seminary, who now presents us with a first volume of texts[1] to be followed shortly by another, apparently much smaller, one, which will present all that remains: "a part of a homily on the Virgin" and "a magical text."

The present volume, besides disposing of a considerable amount of illegible and relatively unimportant material, publishes in full the text of Manuscript No. 1, "a large portion of the Psalter"; Fragment No. 1, "a small portion of the Psalter . . . ."; and Fragment No. 9, "a small portion of Job." Representative pages of each of these are exhibited in the usual excellent photogravures, which characterize the publication of the Freer material. A photogravure presents one side of a double leaf, badly torn and wrinkled, from Fragment No. 2, "a small portion of Matthew," whose text is amply made public besides in Note 1, page ix. The few words, deciphered on Fragment No. 8, are printed on page ix; would it be possible to satisfy the curious by a photographic representation of "a rude portrait of Christ (?)," which is said to be found on this fragment? None of the texts published contains anything textually out of the ordinary. The introduction is accordingly brief, though its careful tabulations, most of them very useful, tell a story of much painstaking labor. Seven sections deal, in order, with the Coptic material in the Freer collection, the "appearance and make-up of the collection," paleography, orthography, textual affinities, "plan of this edition," and "the reproduction of the text." The mystery of the place whence these Freer materials come is not yet lifted, wherefore expert judgment cannot yet fully test the soundness of Professor Sanders' hypothetical "Monastery of the Vinedresser," which is all that appears in this as in previous introductions. The separation of the mangled leaves was accomplished with his usual skill by Professor Sanders. The external appearance of this volume, as of all previous ones which have appeared on the Freer material, speaks volumes for the unstinted liberality of Mr. Freer. Perhaps, if it be possible at all, this generosity will furnish us in Part II with a photograph of the Christ-portrait above mentioned.

M. SPRENGLING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[1] *The Coptic Psalter in the Freer Collection.* By William H. Worrell. The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, Part I. University of Michigan Studies. *Humanistic Series*, Vol. X. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xxvi+112, and 6 plates. $2.00 net.

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Semitic Languages and Literatures

THE GREEK GENESIS

By A. T. Olmstead
University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

A comparatively unworked field was cultivated in our study of
Kings. It was not difficult for us to discover there, if not the true
"Septuagint," at least the earliest of the Greek translations available,
and this text was sharply differentiated from the later forms.[1] The
case of the Greek Genesis is far different. It is true that in one
respect we are at an advantage in that the greater part of the manu-
script data has been newly collected in the Cambridge Old Testament
in Greek, and it is also true that a considerable amount of first-class
work has already been done by aid of this new evidence. This advan-
tage, however, is more than counterbalanced by the doubt as to the
various strata in the Greek translation, and by the difficulty in decid-
ing the earliest form of the text preserved us.

The greatest difficulty remains to be mentioned. While the
scholar may work out the problem of Kings far from the strife of
theology, the Book of Genesis is the very storm-center of the fight
against the "higher criticism," and the historian is frequently in
doubt whether he is actually investigating the sources for Hebrew
origins or the "history of the warfare between science and theology."
Recently a new complication has been introduced. By a curious

[1] *AJSL*, XXX, 1 ff.; XXXI, 169 ff.

turn of affairs, an attack on the higher criticism, that is, the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen school,[1] is being conducted by an appeal to the lower, or textual, criticism. Equally curious, some of the more orthodox "higher critics" are meeting the attack by minimizing the value of the versions, while the new opponents of the higher criticism are being led to a position compared with which the higher criticism is decided conservatism.

The independent scholar, who is not wedded to the current theory, cannot but admit that there seems considerable need of the restatement of the versions' importance. The new attack has forced the higher criticism to reconsider the basis of positions which were fast becoming a new and rather hide-bound orthodoxy, it has demanded a more radical criticism of the Massoretic Text, it has shown a surprisingly large amount of editorial redaction of a surprisingly late date. How needed was this attack can be realized when we find the leader of the now conservative critics asserting that

while the LXX contains particular readings which are shown by internal evidence to be superior to the Hebrew, yet an examination of its general text proves that on the whole it is inferior to the Massoretic Hebrew. I do not think that this will be disputed by any competent Old Testament scholar. The 𝕸𝕿 is often emended from the LXX, but practically never except for some superiority, real or supposed, attaching to the reading presupposed by LXX in particular cases.[2]

If, therefore, a textual critic gives the preference to LXX readings, as such, he must be prepared to maintain the *general superiority of its text* . . . . But if he essays this, he will speedily land himself in a *reductio ad absurdum* of the critical axiom with which he starts. It is notorious that the LXX contains many readings which presuppose a Hebrew text, not only inferior to the 𝕸𝕿, but absolutely inadmissible; i.e., one which no commentator with a regard for the meaning of the passage could possibly accept.[3]

After such a confession of faith, or rather lack of faith, it is not surprising to find that his elaborate commentary on Genesis has no

[1] In these days, when everything "made in Germany" is at a discount, it is well to obviate the unconscious prejudice caused by calling it the "Wellhausen theory." by insisting that Wellhausen merely popularized what was begun by the Alsatian Graf and worked out by the Dutchman Kuenen.

[2] Skinner, *Divine Names* 166.

[3] *Ibid.*, 168 ff. Is there not here a confusion between blunders of the Greek *translators* and the text they misunderstood? Often their blunders are the best evidence of the superiority of their text, and when we have more fully studied their mistakes, as, for example, Margolis has done, we shall see that this is true in still other cases.

section on the versions, and that when he quotes them he is far from accurate.[1]

Notwithstanding Skinner's dictum as to "competent Old Testament scholars," we must point out as a matter of historical accuracy that the "advent of textual criticism" is not to be assigned to the new school. At a time when the Revised Version of the Old Testament was looked upon with suspicion, though the revisers had not inserted in the text the absolutely necessary corrections of the versions, and had graced even the margins with but few, the higher critics were using, however inadequately, the versions to correct the traditional text. If Skinner followed the bad example of Driver in not giving a section to the text in his commentary, other commentators in the series, especially the Americans, have given brief but excellent studies, for example, the important contribution to the two texts in the Greek Judges made by G. F. Moore. The studies of Driver on Samuel and of Burney on Kings are classics in textual criticism. Cornill is certainly a follower of Wellhausen, yet his reconstruction of the text of Ezekiel is a model of what such a reconstruction should be; indeed, the writer remembers a sharp attack by a conservative journal on Cornill for his excision of the David midrash in Samuel, though, as everyone knows, this is not ejected for subjective reasons, but because it is absent from the B Text. The latest commentary on Genesis, that of Procksch, is written from a thoroughly "critical" standpoint, but it contains the best brief introduction to the versions on that book, and Procksch had already shown by his *Septuaginta Studien* that he was an accomplished textual critic. Indeed, if we were to look for the closest representation of the text which we might reasonably assume would be reconstructed by the new school, we should find it, minus the rainbow colors, in the Polychrome Bible, the most advanced production of the higher critics. We should find there the same interpolations relegated to the margins, in both cases on the basis of the versions, the only difference being that the new school

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[1] Thus on 32:3, he has "𝕲 om." though only A Eth do so, while on vs. 7 he confines the omission to 𝕲ᴬ though DLM ˡˣᵗ bdfhilnpqrstuv ˡˣᵗdₑ Sah all agree in omitting the "camels." So in 45:3 and 36:19, additions only in A and almost certainly scribal blunders are ascribed to 𝕲. On 46:29, he quotes πιονι as the reading of 𝕲 though it is only in B*n and is obviously the worst sort of an inner corruption of πλειονι, which is found in all the other manuscripts and versions, but to Skinner is only a variant!

would logically exclude from the reconstructed text a much larger number of redactional interpolations.

A renewed study of the problem is therefore not out of place, especially by one who, because of his position as a teacher of history, must necessarily take a somewhat neutral point of view, who has never been committed to any one school, and who is inclined to find much of good in "conservative" and "critic" alike. The purpose of the paper is not, to be sure, the reconstruction of the original text of Genesis, nor is it primarily intended to test the higher criticism or the results of the new school. Rather it is the much less ambitious one of discovering the instances where the study of the Greek translation assists the historian in the problem of the sources, and other questions are only incidentally touched.[1]

Some of the most fundamental problems of the versions remain still to be solved, yet certain facts are already sure. First of all, we note that the Massoretic Text was fixed at a rather late date. In the very Law itself, with all its sanctity, we have frequent cases where there are striking variations in the Hebrew manuscripts which profess to give that text, and no small number of these are supported by the versions.[2] To quote but a single instance, no less than fifteen collated Hebrew manuscripts[3] give אתכם in Gen. 50:25, and when we find this supported by Vulgate, Samaritan, and Greek, we must accept it as the actual reading, even though missing in the majority of witnesses.[4] While the additions by this means cannot be expected to be large or important, yet it is perfectly clear that the scholar who will undertake the laborious task of recollating and studying from the genealogical point of view the various extant Hebrew manuscripts

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[1] The present paper was begun in 1914 and virtually completed in the summer of 1915. Numerous passages have been deliberately left unchanged in order that they might be compared with the results of Wiener, whose conclusions, published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in recent years, as well as in *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism, Pentateuchal Studies*, and *Origin of the Pentateuch*, have, in spite of their totally different purpose and their apologetic point of view, been remarkably like those which the writer has discovered, working in almost complete independence and on the basis of the work done on Kings.

[2] Wiener. *Bibl. Sacra*, LXXI, 630 ff., has done good service in pointing this out.

[3] K. 111, 226, 248, 474, 592, 593, 603, 611, 612, 441*, 415(?), R. 16*, 661, 668, 592.

[4] It is accepted by Skinner, *ad loc.* Yet note that only K. 248, R. 16, 592, are in his "panel of acceptable MSS" in *Names* 101. If the others are correct here, their testimony should be considered seriously in other places, e.g., the reading of the divine name in 18:27; 20:4, where K. 111 is quoted.

will have made a distinct contribution to the final reconstruction of
the text, and it is not impossible that startling agreements with the
versions may be found.

The Vulgate and the Syriac are hardly more than manuscripts of
the current Hebrew, yet the Syriac now and then adds its bit,[1] and
the Vulgate, because of its retention of the Old Latin text, varies to
a surprising degree at times.[2] Especially disappointing is the Hebrew
text in the possession of the Samaritans, now at last edited with a
fair degree of finality.[3] The number of variants between the manu-
scripts is astonishingly small; for instance, von Gall could find but
nine cases where the divine names varied from the Massoretic Text,
and only on 20:18 has a single manuscript, F, a variant. This agree-
ment of the names of the deity is, in the words of Skinner, "perhaps,
all things considered, the most remarkable phenomenon in the his-
tory of the Hebrew text,"[4] but this agreement is not to be explained
by asserting "what history tells us is that the Samaritan Pentateuch
is older than the Greek translation";[5] for history tells us, and in
uncertain tones at that, only that there was a Samaritan community,
and the existence of such a community no more proves the contem-
porary existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and especially of one
in its present form, than does the existence of the Aramaic-speaking
Jewish community at Elephantine in the Persian period prove
that the Targums date from that time. The essential agreement
between the Samaritan and the standard Hebrew has been much
adduced for apologetic purposes, but the evidence is rapidly increas-
ing to prove that its text is late.[6]

All these sources have what is in the large the Massoretic type of
text, yet with frequent variations. It is especially instructive to
note how often we have an agreement of the Samaritan, Syriac, Vul-
gate, and even Targum, against the traditional reading. It is

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[1] Cf. J. Hänel, *Die aussermassorethischen Übereinstimmungen zwischen der Septuaginta
und der Peschittha in der Genesis*, 1911.

[2] Cf. Wiener, *Bibl. Sacra*, LXXI, 642 ff.

[3] Von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, 1914; but cf. for criticism
Tisserant, *Rev. Bibl.*, N.S., XI, 542 ff., who points out that sixteen manuscripts are not
used for twenty-three which are.

[4] *Names* 116 f.   [5] *Ibid.*, 131.

[6] *AJSL*, XXXI, 206; cf. N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 31 ff.; Wiener, *Bibl.
Sacra*, LXII, 83 ff.

equally instructive to observe how rarely the variations from the standard text are of much importance. The revision of the text from which these were derived has been rigid, and only unessential variations have escaped the corrector.

Thus we have in the Book of Genesis, as in other parts of the Old Testament, two sharply differentiated texts, that represented by the Greek, and that roughly by the present Hebrew. Taking these two by themselves, it might be possible to argue that they represent unrelated texts, that one is not a development of the other.[1] Fortunately, for Genesis we have a precious authority in the Book of Jubilees, which can be shown to be the link which unites, in text as in time, the two stages in the development. So important is this evidence that we may be pardoned for giving, not our own impression, but the statement of its editor, made without the slightest reference to the problem now under discussion:

Our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text. . . . . Our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac. For it agrees more frequently with the LXX . . . . or with combinations into which the LXX enters . . . . than with any other single authority or with any combination excluding the LXX. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac . . . . or with combinations into which the Syriac enters. . . . . On the other hand its independence of the LXX is shown . . . . and its actual superiority in a large array of readings . . . . where it has the support of the Sam. and Mass., or of these with various combinations of Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

If to the above considerations we add the facts, that, so far as I am aware, (1) it never agrees against all the rest with the Mass., which is in some respects the latest form of the Hebrew text; (2) that it agrees in a few cases with Onk., oftener with the Vulg., and still oftener with the Syr., and oftenest with the LXX, against all the rest; (3) that, when it enters combinations, it is almost universally in attestation of the earlier reading, it may be reasonably concluded that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. (LXX version of the Pentateuch) and 100 A.D., and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.[2]

The importance of the Book of Jubilees for the reconstruction of the text is very great. At the present juncture its greatest value to us is in what it teaches us as to the general character of the textual

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[1] As, e.g., Barton (*Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 63) argues against me for Kings.

[2] Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, XXXVIII f.

history. First, it does furnish us the connecting link between the earlier and the later groups of texts. It has much developed from the text of the Greek; for example, it has the Ur episode and the later order of the one concerning Rachel's tomb, yet it is far from the Massoretic Text as a whole. Evidently there was no such single marked revision as that which took place in Kings, yet revision to a considerable degree can be seen. Our second discovery is more startling. A Jew of the most undoubted orthodoxy, a stout defender of the most legalistic faith, one in close sympathy with the Maccabean royal house, had before him a text which was very much farther away from our present Hebrew than is that which is today found among the Samaritans! Such a fact, for fact it undoubtedly is, challenges explanation. The most obvious reply is that, in its passage through the Greek, Latin, or Ethiopic translations, it was corrected to the Greek or to its versions, but the most superficial study of the agreements, especially in its combinations, will show this view to be untenable. That the Massoretic Text was revised to the Samaritan is unthinkable, scarcely less so is the converse, yet this last seems the only hypothesis, and there is other evidence which fits with it.[1]

The isolation of the true Septuagint for Genesis is no easy task.[2] Our first clue might seem to be the colophon to that book in the manuscripts B and c₂, γενεσις κατα τους εβδομηκοντα, "Genesis according to the Seventy," that is, that the text is hexaplaric. Unfortunately the two do not always agree. In the little over four chapters of Genesis in which B is preserved, there are almost one hundred and fifty cases where c₂ is specifically said to differ from B, and twenty-one of these are cases where c₂ has an obviously hexaplaric reading as over against B. We might then assume that c₂ gives the text closest to the later Hebrew, but a short examination shows that barely a third of the readings in which that differs from the general run of Greek manuscripts are found in it. The only manuscript which we may compare with Q in the prophets, because it has the marginal notes giving exact ascriptions to the later translators, is

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[1] Burkitt (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, XV, 403) tells us that "the Pentateuch became canonical from very early times, and the consonantal text was practically fixed in the Maccabaean age," but how can this be squared with the testimony of Jubilees? Cf. also Reider, *ibid.*, N.S., VII, 292, n. 101.

[2] Cf. especially the reviews of G. F. Moore, *AJSL*, XXIX, 37 ff.; Procksch, *Genesis* 13 ff.

𝕲, and 𝕲 is preserved only in fragments. The Syro-Hexaplar is missing for two-thirds of the book, and M, the cursives jvc₂, and the Armenian are often obviously untrustworthy.

In this uncertainty it is possible to secure results of some validity by noting the agreements of the various manuscripts and versions with the Massoretic Text in readings of importance. Many witnesses are not entirely preserved, but we may calculate their percentage, though we must place these less certain results in brackets. In the whole book there are, on a conservative estimate, about five hundred cases where we may say, with some confidence, that correction to the later text has taken place. The results of the comparison are somewhat surprising.

In many and important cases there is not a single manuscript or version which has been corrected to the Massoretic Text. Also the manuscript which has the largest number of such corrections, a, has but three-fifths of the cases where the Greek and the Hebrew differ. Only one conclusion can be drawn from these facts, for facts they most certainly are, that there has never been such an edition of the Septuagint as we found in Kings, which has been consistently corrected to the later text, not even that which is the ancestor of the Samaritan, Vulgate, and Syriac, as well as the current Hebrew. It is true that we find a text which is more "hexaplaric," that is, corrected to the "Hebrew verity," but this does not show homogeneous correction within its own limits.

The statistics, incomplete as they are, show the manuscripts and versions to fall into three sharply marked classes. First comes that represented by A and, so far as preserved, by B and y, with a little over 5 per cent of seeming corrections to the Hebrew. Then come the majority of the witnesses, a long straggling group, [d₂, 10 per cent]; [G, 14 per cent]; [E, 15 per cent]; r, 16 per cent; [Sah] Eth, 17 per cent; t, 18 per cent; h, 19 per cent; D [FLM] bdegijlp, 20 per cent; uv, 21 per cent; Boh, 22 per cent; qw, 23 per cent; ns, 24 per cent; [Pal, Lat] f, 25 per cent; and perhaps others which, because of the briefness of extent or uncertainty of first reading, cannot be certainly classed. Then comes a sharply marked break until we reach [k, 40 per cent]; Arm, 50 per cent; c₂, 54 per cent; [b₂] mo, 55 per cent; x, 58 per cent; a [c], 60 per cent.

Now these statistics have a fairly large element of subjectivity which must be allowed for, and the results may not be quite accurate in detail. For example, the difference between t with 18 per cent and d and p with 20 per cent is not marked enough to split up this recognized recension. The identity of egj is strikingly confirmed. On the other hand, the difference between r with 16 per cent and f with 25 per cent is enough to raise doubt as to this family being homogeneous, especially as we note that in the earlier chapters f is the most hexaplaric of all, while in the later it has a decidedly good character. The general results can certainly not be denied. We have a text which is nearly pure from revision, another which marks a fairly closely revised text, and half-way between stand the majority of the witnesses. Since the correction has been so spasmodic, our methods must also be eclectic, though in but few cases will it be found that we must depart from the readings of the group ABy.

Aside from this group, the nearest to the original Greek, and ackmoxc₂ Armenian, the nearest to the Massoretic, our listing is decidedly uncertain. Three groups, however, stand out clearly, dnptd₂, fiᵃr Ethiopic, and egj. Since the exhaustive comparison made by Hautsch with the Antiochian Fathers, we know that the first represents the revision of Lucian, with its obvious faults and virtues.[1] The group fiᵃr agrees so regularly with the two Coptic versions and even more particularly with the Ethiopic that Procksch is almost certainly right in making it Hesychianic.[2] What the groups egj and bw 108 118, represent is quite uncertain.[3]

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[1] E. Hautsch, *Der Lukiantext des Oktateuch* (1909), 518 ff.; cf. also G. F. Moore, *loc. cit.* Coming fresh from a study of the undoubtedly Lucianic text in Kings, my own impression confirms this conclusion. Dahse, *Ztschr. f. alttest. Wiss.*, XXVIII, 1 ff., considers fiᵃr Eth Lucianic and Procksch, *Genesis* 14, prefers egj.

[2] Procksch, *Genesis* 14. While the Ethiopic does not here have the same value as in Kings, it is still of much importance. The Cambridge Septuagint has collated three important manuscripts, p (Y in Boyd), comparatively free from correction to the Massoretic Text and taken as the standard in my citation of the Ethiopic, f, somewhat conformed, and c, which is still closer to the Massoretic Text. Thus we have roughly the three groups we found in Kings, which Hackspill (*ZA*, XI, 117 ff., 367 ff.) has shown to be found in the Gospels as well. (Note also for the Ethiopic Kings, N. Roupp, *ZA*, XVI, 296 ff., "die älteste äthiopische Handschrift der vier Bücher der Könige.") The Haverford Codex, first given in the new edition of the Ethiopic, J. O. Boyd, *The Octateuch in Ethiopic* (1909), cf. *The Text of the Ethiopic Version of the Octateuch* (1905), is close to p, but independent and so of great value.

[3] E is relatively good, but I cannot understand why Procksch, *Genesis* 13, should believe that it "könnte die originellste Unzialhandschrift der Genesis sein, die wir haben."

The question as to the relative position of the Fathers is little aided by the table of corrections to the later text.   Isolated instances of such correction are not infrequent, but in only three cases is the evidence clear enough to be worth quoting.   We are not surprised to find that Chrysostom has a notably hexaplaric text, almost a fifth of our passages actually quoted in the later form, nor that Cyrill is next with some 7 per cent.   But it is cause for wonder to find ranking with him Philo with thirty-five actual quotations in hexaplaric form. We may explain away some of these as due to contamination from the hexaplaric Armenian, since a large number are preserved only in that language, but with all possible deduction it remains evident that by the time of Philo a long step had been taken toward correcting the Greek to a Hebrew which was not far from that in our present text.

The most serious error in the preparation of the Cambridge Septuagint is the failure to adduce the evidence from before the time of Philo.   Many of the Jewish works of this period, it is true, have been through the hands of Christian interpolators and show more or less correction, while the other fragments have often been corrected to the Hebrew.   In further complication there are serious questions of literary genealogy to be investigated before we can fully utilize the material.   The evidence should at least have been presented as thoroughly as in the case of Philo.   One group surely is in fairly good shape, the earliest Jewish historical writers to use the Greek language.   One of them, Demetrius, was almost contemporary with the translators of the Pentateuch, and reminiscences of the Septuagint are numerous and striking.   In one case, and that an important one, he proves a reading to be the true Septuagint which was otherwise preserved only in a late Latin Anonymous.

While the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew Genesis are by no means as striking as we found them in Kings, yet there are most instructive cases.   In many individual readings, or apparent readings, there is some question as to what was read by the Greek, and whether they read truly.   Where we have, not an isolated reading rarely affecting the meaning, but a difference so marked as to indicate deliberate editing, a somewhat more elaborate study is demanded by the historical investigator.   In this type the case is generally so clear that error is rarely probable.

The most striking differences in Genesis are the "transpositions," for they, like the similar "transpositions" in Kings, are most valuable in themselves, and they often give the clue to less obvious changes. We shall begin with 47:5f., since it is accepted by the majority of critics. In the original of the Greek, it must have run somewhat as follows:

Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, "Let them dwell in the land of Goshen and if thou knowest that there are among them able men, make them rulers over my cattle." And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt unto Joseph and Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard thereof, and Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, "Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee; behold, the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell." And Joseph brought, etc.

The whole situation is summed up by Skinner as follows:

The overlapping of J and P at this point can be proved and corrected from 𝕲. . . . . It will hardly be disputed that the text of 𝕲 is here the original, and that P's narrative commences with the additional sentences. . . . . The editor of 𝔐𝕿 felt the doublet to be too glaring; he therefore omitted these two sentences; and then by transposition worked the two accounts into a single scene. . . . . We have here an instructive example of the complex process by which the sources were gradually worked into a smooth narrative, and one which deserves the attention of those writers who ridicule the minute and intricate operations which the critical theory finds it necessary to attribute to the redactors.[1]

Leaving out of question the nomenclature of the two sources, we have here sound doctrine which should be accepted by higher and lower critics alike. We have proof that the processes of the lower criticism at times strikingly resemble those of the higher. Had the higher criticism more frequently kept as open a mind toward the lower as it has in this instance, it would have been impregnable against the attacks of the new school.

The manner in which the manuscripts and versions handle the problem is most instructive in view of the other cases where the issue is not so clearly defined. The "hexaplaric" group, ackmoquxc₂Arm Eth Syr, insert 5b, 6a, where it is found in the present Hebrew, but they use the words of the true Septuagint and not that of "the Hebrew and the Others." The Ethiopic omits "Let them dwell in

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[1] *Genesis* 497 *n.*

the land of Goshen," and "in the land of Goshen" is also missing in Chrysostom. Further, the Ethiopic omits from "Jacob and his sons" to the end of the passage, and in this it has the support of x Arm Syr. Mv have "They came to Egypt" under the obelus, that is, they indicate that it was in the LXX, but not in the later Hebrew. The Old Latin has left out "Jacob and his sons." From "Pharaoh heard" to the end is not in k; c₂ has not "Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard," and p has not "the king of Egypt." My place "and Pharaoh said" to the end under the asterisk, as if in the later Hebrew, though not in the later Greek, although qsu are the only Greek manuscripts which omit these words. From "saying" to the end is not in coc₂, and from "behold" in b₂. Finally, note that in one place v has the "Hebrew and Others" reading.

Rarely do we have a case where the lower criticism throws so much light on the higher, and where the process of incomplete correction to the Massoretic Text is so obvious. In the present example we have the original Greek text, as well as the various stages in its partial correction to the standard Hebrew. We may therefore presume that other examples of marked disturbances in the text indicate a similar correction of the original Greek, though that original has not been fully preserved for comparison.[1]

Our next instance of transposition, 31:26 ff., is much more serious, and has not received the same approval of the Wellhausen school.[2] Here likewise we may well begin with a translation:

And Laban said to Jacob, "What hast thou done? Wherefore didst thou flee secretly and steal away from me? and hast carried away my daughters as captives of the sword, and if thou hadst told me I would have sent thee away with mirth and with song, with tabret and with harp." And

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[1] Later studies will apply this more in detail; the present paper gives only those cases where the Greek original can be certainly discovered.

[2] "Die LXX suchten durch Umstellungen vergeblich Ordnung zu schaffen," Dillmann, *ad loc.*; so also Skinner, *Genesis* 400. "Der Text ist durch die Quellenverflechtung um grosse Unordnung geraten, aus der auch ⑤ keinen Rettungsweg bietet," Procksch, *Genesis* 353, cf. *Elohimquelle* 31, n. 3, though he notes that ⑤ agrees with source differentiation in so far as 46 is followed by 48 and that, after the gloss 47, which is displaced by ⑤, by 51. Holzinger, *Genesis* 204, observes, "Der Text von LXX gäbe keinen Anlass an zwei Quellen zu denken." (The discussion which follows was already written down when there came to hand the study of this passage by Wiener, *Bibl. Sacra,* LXXIII, 140 ff. It has been left unchanged in order that the striking coincidences in results obtained from such different standpoints may be the more clearly shown.)

Laban answered and said to Jacob, "Your daughters are my daughters and your sons are my sons and your flocks are my flocks and all that thou seest is mine. And what can I do this day with these my daughters or unto their children whom they have borne? and now, come, let us make a covenant, I and thou, and let it be for a witness between me and thee." And Jacob said to him, "Behold, no man is with us; see, God is witness between me and thee." And Jacob took a stone and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto his brethren, "Gather stones," and they gathered stones and made a heap, and they did eat and drink there by the heap. And Laban said unto him, "This heap is witness between me and thee this day." And Laban called it "The heap of witness," but Jacob called it "The heap be witness." And Laban said unto Jacob "Behold this heap and this pillar which I have set betwixt me and thee. This heap be witness and this pillar be witness." Wherefore its name was called "The heap be witness" and the "Watch Tower," for he said, "God watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters—see, no one is with us. For if I shall not pass over to you, neither shalt thou pass over this heap and this pillar to me for evil. The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor judge between us." And Jacob sware by the Fear of his father Isaac. And Jacob offered a sacrifice in the mount and called his brethren and they ate and drank and slept in the mount.

Now it would be obviously absurd to insist that this account, as it stands, represents the original, for the text had a long and complicated history before the date of the Greek translation. That fact should not be permitted to prevent us from seeing that even in its present form it does not increase the confusion,[1] but rather furnishes the means for a clearer view. Laban has suggested a covenant as a witness. But Laban has shown himself in the not far distant past shifty as regards human contracts, and Jacob insists that every possible sanction should be given the agreement. To mark its exceptionally solemn character, Jacob erects the sacred pillar and then calls upon his brethren, evidently the clansmen who had pursued him with Laban, to associate themselves by heaping up the sacred cairn. Finally all partake of the communal meal. Omitting the following verse as an interpolation,[2] Laban points out *both* the stele

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[1] As Skinner, *Genesis* 400.

[2] It is almost universally admitted that the second half, the bilingual naming, is late, in view of the Aramaic. Such a view is supported by the fact that M places it under the asterisk, f omits it entirely, and mo omit the second half. One might argue that M has

and the cairn as witnesses, and the names of both are given.   The witnessing is made reason for the naming of the heap, the pillar is named for the reason following.   The story ends with the sacred meal and with incubation.   Thus we have an "Elohistic" text with certain very late interpolations rather than two separate E and J documents.

The translation given on p. 156 f. has been based on the text of Codex A, here, as elsewhere in Genesis, our most trustworthy single witness to the original, but the other evidence should also be considered. Perhaps most important of all, because free from Greek influence, we must place the account of Jubilees: "Jacob made a feast for Laban and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day and Laban also to Jacob that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose.   And he made a heap there for witness, wherefore the name of that place is called (The Heap of Witness) after that heap."[1]   From this we cannot discover the exact text which lay behind it, but evidently the story was briefer and more consistent than the one in our present Greek.   One point at least seems clear, that there was no pillar in the original story.

The data given by the various Greek manuscripts are complicated and we are not always sure as to their exact bearing.   For the hexaplaric signs we are dependent upon M, and the very first example it gives us is wrong, for it places, not only 44b but all that the Greek has of 45 under the obelus.   Strangely enough, the "hexaplaric" manuscripts all have the addition in 44b, while on the other hand bm Eth Cyr-cod omit it entirely and the Bohairic partially.   M is correct in placing 48 of the Greek under the obelus, but here again none of the manuscripts or versions omit it as a whole.   Portions are missing in bfmp 107 Eth, but the manner in which this is done shows that it was the result of partial assimilation to the received Hebrew text.

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made here one of its too-frequent mistakes, and mo may have dropped it by partial homoeoteleuton, since they are strongly hexaplaric.   But f in this part of Genesis is a rather good manuscript, and an explanation of its omission of the entire verse is more difficult.   We should also omit 48a, placed before the bilingual verse in the Greek, as a virtual duplication of 52a of the current enumeration, made necessary when the interpolation was inserted.

[1] Jubilees 29:7 f.

Positively amazing is it to find that the "hexaplaric" manuscripts give the verse entire, even going their own way in one place. Equally strange is it to find the Armenian giving the asterisk only to the word "God" in verse 50, though the whole passage is not in the Greek. With 53 we begin to have ⑮, a trustworthy authority for the hexaplaric marks, though here the ascriptions are of no importance.

The most striking fact is the surprisingly small authority for the omissions of the Massoretic Text, and it is equally surprising that this authority is *never* found in the "hexaplaric" manuscripts. There is no authority whatever for the placing of the verses 48b–50 before 51 in the modern Hebrew. On the other hand, the "hexaplaric" manuscripts agree in giving the longer additions in 46, 50, and 51, as well as the briefer in 53f., but it is significant that these seem regularly made from Aquila, that is, only a late authority for them is found.[1]

An interesting change in order which also leads to an important topographical conclusion is to be found in chapter 35, where verse 21 is placed before verse 16, so that we read "and Jacob journeyed from Bethel and spread his tent beyond the tower of Eder and it came to pass that when he was near the chabratha to go into the land of Ephratha that Rachel travailled, etc., and Rachel died and was buried in the way of Ephratha, the same is Bethlehem." If we accept this order, then it is definitely settled that the tomb of Rachel is to be sought on the direct road between Bethel and Bethlehem, and that there is no objection to acceptance of the traditional site. Tradition should not, especially in Palestine, be overemphasized, but when we observe that the greatest of authorities on the topography of the Holy Land, with all his dislike of traditional sites, nevertheless accepted the one under discussion, we are given pause.[2] We may insist that the identification of Ephratha with Bethlehem is a gloss,[3]

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[1] M on 52 gives under α' ※ συν τον σωρον τουτον, and cox have the συν. Additions are identified by use of the good Greek word σωρος, where the original had the Sicilo-Macedonian βουνος, so common as the word for mountain on the modern maps of Greece. Codex k has συν τον σωρον τουτον = אֵת הַגַּל הַזֶּה, after the first "stones" of 46. If not taken by error from 52, then Aquila has here a different reading from the Massoretic Text. In 46, f has the Massoretic Text addition, not in the hexaplaric, i.e., Aquila, form, but in one whose closeness to LXX makes one suspect it to be the reading of Symmachus.

[2] Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, I, 218ff.; III, 273.

[3] Stade, *Ztschr. f. alttest. Wiss.*, III, 1ff.

but we still have no objection to the traditional location if we accept the Greek order. Of recent years it has become the fashion to argue that the order of the Greek shows "the influence of the theory that (the tower of Eder) was at Jerusalem, which Jacob would naturally pass on the way to Jerusalem,"[1] and the view has been popularized by no less an authority than Baedeker. None the less, it is rather disconcerting to find that the "theory that (the tower of Eder) was found at Jerusalem" first appears in Mic. 4:8. If we attribute this to the prophet himself, then the theory was held but a little later than the supposed date of the Elohistic document itself, and long before that of the last redactor of the Pentateuch. If we accept the later date assigned by certain scholars,[2] the "theory" has still an antiquity that surely demands respectful consideration. The agreement of Micah and the Greek Genesis surely outweighs such authority as we can demand for the Massoretic Text.

But we are told that "the site of Rachel's grave is determined by I Sa 10[2] (on the border of Benjamin, between Ramah and Gibeah) and Jer. 31[14]." How the second verse, "Rachel weeping for her children because they are dead," has anything to do with the death of Rachel herself is difficult to understand. Later commentators seem to have forgotten the sensible remarks of Robinson, "Rachel, the ancestress of the tribe of Benjamin, is poetically introduced as bewailing the departure of her descendants into exile, from Ramah of Benjamin, their place of rendezvous."[3] As it stands, the Samuel passage certainly proves a site at Ramah. But higher criticism[4] agrees with common sense in telling us that there are two accounts of the anointing of Saul, and it is worthy of note that only the later account speaks of Ramah, and this is obviously as late or later than the Micah passage. The earlier seems almost intentionally vague as to the city of Saul, but it very carefully indicates that the tomb

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[1] So Skinner, ad loc. But cf. Holzinger, ad loc., who says "LXX lässt unter der Voraussetzung, dass Ephratha v. 16 = Bethlehem, Migdal Eder = Jerusalem ist, ganz richtig den Jacob vor der Geburt Benjamins Migdal-Eder sofort nach Bethel passieren, setzt also v. 21 vor v. 16. Die jüngere Tradition sucht auf Grund der Ansetzung des Rahel-grabes bei Bethlehem auch Migdal-Eder in dieser Gegend."

[2] J. M. P. Smith, Micah, ad loc., attributes it to the end of the seventh century.

[3] Bibl. Researches, III, 273.

[4] E.g., H. P. Smith, Samuel, ad loc.

was on the Bethel road. Taking the earlier source alone, without reading into it the topography of the later, there is no necessary conflict with the position of Micah and of the Greek Genesis. Finally there is absolute certainty that here we have the original Greek reading, for Demetrius, who lived, as we have seen, barely a generation after the original translation, says ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς χαφραθα ἐνθεν παραγενεσθαι εἰς Εφραθα ηνειναι βηθλεεμ. Perhaps we have in this the explanation of the mysterious *chabratha*, for Demetrius, supported by the manuscripts qu, read *chaphratha*, in whose first element we see *caphar*, "village." Incidentally it hints that qu, which have in this place the reading of Demetrius, may elsewhere be of like value.

A rather surprising fact of unusual topographical interest is the failure of the Greek manuscripts and of the versions taken from them to mention the much-discussed Ur of the Chaldees from which came the patriarch Abraham. All unanimously read ἐν τῃ χωρα in 11:28 and ἐκ τῆς χωρας in 31. The most natural assumption is that χωρα is an error for Ur, to which it does indeed have a superficial resemblance. When, however, we turn these phrases into Hebrew, we have בָאָרֶץ and מֵאָרֶץ respectively, "in the land" and "from the land."[1] Ur is now written אוּר, but before the introduction of vowel letters we would have had אר, which gives us the first two letters of אֶרֶץ, "land." That the true reading was "land of the Chaldeans," not "Ur of the Chaldeans," is further confirmed by verse 31, where כשׂדים is followed by לָלֶכֶת אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן, "to go to the *land* of Canaan." The paleographical explanation is made still more probable if we conjecture that the error was made at the time of the transfer from the older to the square form of writing, for the lost final ץ of אֶרֶץ would look in the square Aramaic much like the כ of the former. However it happened, the ץ was lost, and the Massoretic reviser identified what was left with the Ur in Babylonia with which postexilic Jews had become so familiar. That the Greek χωρα should have remained uncorrected in all the manuscripts and versions is the more remarkable in that already by 150 B.C. Eupolemus had made the identification. But the very manner in which this was made is

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[1] So Ball, *Genesis, ad loc.*

so instructive that it must be quoted entire: "In the tenth generation [after the flood] in a city of Babylonia, Kamarine (*which some call Urie*, but which is, being interpretated, the City of the Chaldeans), so then in the tenth generation was born Abraham."[1]   The passage has come down to us without context and is not entirely clear, but one point needs no emphasis.   The identification with Ur is known, but not from the sacred books.   "Some say," τινας λεγειν, can only refer to oral tradition or learned conjecture.   It is the identification with Kamarine which is taken as a matter of course; that with Ur is a novelty.   Furthermore, Χαλδαιων πολιν seems only a paraphrase of χωρα των Χαλδαιων.

The testimony of Acts some two centuries later is also of great value.   Stephen, in his speech, 7:2,4, quotes Gen. 11:28,31 from memory as follows: τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ ουτε εν τη Μεσοποταμια πρινη κατοικησαι αυτον εν Χαρραν . . . . . τοτε εξελθων εκ γης Χαλδαιων κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν.   It is clear that the editor had no Ur in his mind, in fact, εκ γης Χαλδαιων is simply a remininscence of the εκ της χωρας των Χαλδαιων of the Greek.   Ur occurs again in the traditional text of Neh. 9:7, but the late translation which has supplanted and lost us the original Septuagint of this book still has εκ της χωρας as in the Greek Genesis, and this is without doubt another מאור.[2]

By the time of Josephus the connection with Ur had been made so definite that the tomb of Haran was pointed out there,[3] but Nicolaus of Damascus, less than a century before, seems to have known only of a progress εκ της γης της υπερ Βαβυλωνος Χαλδαιων λεγομενης, "from the land above Babylonia which is called that of the Chaldeans."[4]   But long before his time the consciousness that אור was not the name of a city had taken a new direction, and the word had been read as אור, "fire," and many fables followed on this basis, beginning as early as the end of the second century B.C., with Jubilees.[5]   Of Ur as the city of Abraham there is little trace until a decidedly late period.

[1] *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, III, 212: Δεκατη δε γενεα . . . . . εν πολει της Βαβυλωνιας Καμαρινη (ην τινας λεγειν πολιν Ουριην, ειναι δε μεθερμηνευομενην Χαλδαιων πολιν) εν τοινυν Τ δεκατη γενεα γενεσθαι Αβρααμ.

[2] So Batten, *Ezra, ad loc.*

[3] *Ant.* i. 151.

[4] Fr. 30; Jos. *Ant.* i. 159.

[5] Jubilees 12:12 ff.

Were these verses in Genesis at all? A long line of critics, Dillmann, Holzinger, Driver, Ryle, Skinner, Procksch, have considered them interpolations. One indication of this possibility must finally be noted. χωρα has only a superficial resemblance to אור and we note that it is not the common usage of the Greek Genesis. In the testimony on 42:9, we learn that it was used by Aquila and Symmachus, and here the greater number of the manuscripts have this in preference to the true reading found in a minority of the manuscripts.[1]

Another case where the translations give important results is in 33:18, where the translation of שלם, the שלום of the Samaritan Pentateuch, gives considerable difficulty. Usually there are two alternatives given, to translate "in peace," or with the current Greek, Jubilees,[2] Vulgate, and Syriac make it a proper name and compare the Salim a short distance east of Nablus. No scholar could be expected to lay any stress on the unique reading, *in alteram civitatem*, which the Cambridge Old Testament gives on the single authority of a late Lucca Anonymous Chronicle. Yet this was taken from the Old Latin, and this in turn represents the original Greek better than any extant Greek manuscript, for Demetrius, writing immediately after the actual translation, gives us the original of *in alteram civitatem*, εις ετεραν πολιν. Incidentally it proves that we can have no definitive edition until we have used these pre-Christian authorities and have searched even the latest Latin writer for traces of the Old Latin.[3]

Valuable topographical information is added by the Greek translation of chapter 46, especially in the addition after verse 20 of the Hebrew which casual examination might seem to indicate had been taken from Num. 26:28, 39f. The reading Edem for Eran is probably correct. The mother of the subtribe of Machir is given as an Aramean concubine. At first sight we might say that it had been taken from I Chron. 7:14, but it is in all the manuscripts and versions, even the "hexaplaric," it is in Philo, and it was in the text read

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[1] DEegi*j.   [2] 30:1.

[3] It is also worthy of notice that Demetrius has the differentiation between the man Sychem and the city Sikimon; that he reads εις Λουζα της Βαιθηλ for the current εις Λουζα . . . . . η εστιν Βαιθηλ in 35:6; and εις Μαμβρι της Χεβρων in 27.

by the author of Acts, as is proved by the total of 75 descendants
in 7:14.   Only the obelus of the Syro Hexaplar warns against its
authenticity.   With such evidence we must accept it as a certain
part of the original Greek.   According to the current belief the Book
of Chronicles was not written until the Persian Empire was a matter
of the past.   Thus we have less than a century at the most for the
book to precede the Greek translation of Genesis, and it is not
beyond the bounds of possibility that the Chronicler was the later.
We may also doubt whether the little appreciated work of the Chroni-
cler was known in Egypt so early.   So all the arguments are against
it having been copied from the Chronicler by the Greek translators,
and stronger is the argument against this being true for the Hebrew
original.   It is, on the other hand, not difficult to surmise why, in
the Law, the bastard origin of an important subtribe, once a full tribe
itself, should be removed, while in the less widely read Chronicles
it was not discovered and thrown out.[1]

Other topographical notes of interest are in 41:48, where the
group Afi[a'']ry tells us that Joseph laid up the food in On, where the
fact that elsewhere we have Heliopolis[2] shows it to be an interpola-
tion, though not from the Massoretic Text; and in 46:28, where all
our authorities take the city Goshen as Heroonpolis; while Goshen
the land was identified by the Greek as Ramses, the Bohairic went
its own way and made it Pithom.

One of the clearest examples of a repeated story presented by the
critics is that of Isaac and his denial of his wife, but that there was
topographical change as well seems not to have been noticed.   Accord-
ing to the present text, Abimelech was king of the Philistines.   This
statement is missing in a number of authorities,[3] and the other non-
hexaplaric texts have Gerar.   We have a hint of the process by which

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[1] The Septuagint addition is ignored or opposed by all but Ryle, who well says: "The
mention of Benjamin's *sons* in a list purporting to be a record of those who came with Jacob
into Egypt is of course irreconcilable with the narrative.   But it illustrates the separate
origin of these lists of names (connected with P) from the general narrative preserved by
J and E.   The difficulty experienced by the ordinary reader was possibly felt in very early
times. . . . . If (the LXX) list was the original form of the genealogy, it may have been
modified in order to get rid of the strange statement, that Benjamin's grandsons and
great-grandsons went down with Jacob into Egypt."

[2] A*Ion.

[3] Lbirw Eth. on 26:8.

the Semitic sheikh of the half-nomadic settlement of Gerar was trans-
formed into the king of the race which occupied this country when
the story was revised. Not the least interesting is the sidelight on
the problem as to the relationship of the Abraham and Isaac stories.
The Greek shows that the two were originally more nearly identical,
and that final differentiation did not take place until after the Greek
translation. We see the final step of the process which the critics
have carried farther back.[1]

Can the Greek translation throw any light on that most prob-
lematical of chapters, the fourteenth of Genesis? At the first
glance we observe that the Greek itself is somewhat strange, $\phi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon=$
עֵמֶק; $\iota\pi\pi os=$ רֶכוּשׁ; $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta s=$ עִבְרִי. The last two are unique,
the other unique for the Pentateuch. A subject for thought is that
Aquila has $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\tau\eta s$, virtually the same reading. We at once begin
to suspect that the passage may be a late insertion in the Greek
and so in the Hebrew original. This would well agree with the
"significant fact that the Maccabees were called $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota s$ $\theta\epsilon ov$
$v\psi\iota\sigma\tau ov$ (Jos. Ant. xvi. 163; Ass. Mosis 6[1]) . . . . the frequent
occurrence of עֶלְיוֹן as a divine name in late Pss., the name Salem
in one such Ps., and Melk in (probably) another" suggesting "that
the Melk legend was much in vogue about the time of the Macca-
bees."[2] In all this uncertainty, one thing is sure. The story was
known to Eupolemus in 142/141 B.C., but it was not in this form.
According to him the enemy came from Armenia, and it was to
this enemy and not to the king of Sodom that he freely remitted
the captives. Furthermore, the sacrifice is placed at the hieron of
the city of Argarizin, "which is, being interpreted, the mountain
of the Most High."[3] Argarizin is without doubt Mount Gerizim.
This identification could be explained as due to Samaritan influence,
and it is true that Josephus makes him a Gentile.[4] Thus we might

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[1] Note that L om 7b, 8a, the fairness of Rachel and Isaac's long stay, and vs. 10, which
is certainly not needed for the sense. In 18, c₁ has the condensed statement "and Abraham
his father named them" instead of Isaac. Eth om, "his father," and Ddp Eth om after
the names. In 31, dp om, "and they rose up betimes in the morning and sware to one
another" and m om, "and they departed from him in peace."

[2] Skinner, *Genesis*, 270f.

[3] *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, III. 212.

[4] *Contr. Ap.*, i. 23.

save the Massoretic Text, but if we do so, then we also condemn the Samaritan Pentateuch of having been conformed to the Jewish after this date.[1]

Bare reference may be made to another set of phenomena met with in the Greek Genesis. We find some interesting excisions and a considerable number of additions, especially in the Lucianic group. The illustrated manuscript L, suspect as it is, has some omissions curiously like those of the higher critics. Certain sections are shown to be in disorder, and from the multiplicity of witnesses, we may sometimes throw much light on our problems. In the majority of cases, however, there is a certain amount of uncertainty, and consideration is better confined to a separate article.

One more problem may be expected to find discussion in these pages. In the last few years it has been frequently stated, and with emphasis, that the clue of Astruc, the alternate use of Yahweh and Elohim as name for the deity, is disproved by the versions, and that therefore the higher criticism falls. There has developed a depreciation of the versions on the part of the critics as curious as the joy with which attacks upon the traditional text have been received in hitherto conservative circles.

At the very threshold of our investigations we meet an initial difficulty. Most variant readings vary enough to present clear-cut issues. Here the variant of Yahweh is almost certain to be Elohim and vice versa; further, the scribe is especially liable to write the one for the other by a perfectly well-known type of error. Only those readings supported by a considerable number of manuscripts, and those of a good family, can escape the suspicion that they are common scribal blunders. In the Massoretic Text the number of places where we have any sort of variant is so small and the variants have so rarely adequate authority that we might almost assume

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[1] In 14:16, dfpvᵇxd꞉ᵇⁱ Chr Cyr-ed have instead of the regular reading αδελφον the much less common αδελφιδουν. This is exactly the word used by Eupolemus, and so must be accepted as the original reading. The transposition of "Abram's brother's son" in 12 in the Greek shows interpolation, as Olshausen, Dillman, Holzinger, Ball, Gunkel, Skinner. The term "Hebrew," as applied to Abraham, is omitted by d Eth. Verse 17 is much improved by the shorter text of L, "after his return from the slaughter of the kings at the vale of Shaveh." Verse 20a, "and blessed be God Most High," omitted by Ethᶠᵖ, is better cast out as a duplicate of a phrase in the previous verse. Procksch makes all 18-20 late.

that special care was taken in representing the correct reading of the archetype. But two readings have any inherent probability, Yahweh for Adonai in 18:27 and 20:4, and this is due rather to writing what was already pronounced than for any other reason. The same argument may be used for the similar change in 18:3, though here the manuscript testimony is negligible. Not a single case of change from Yahweh to Elohim or vice versa has sufficient manuscript evidence to secure our assent. The Samaritan Pentateuch is so strikingly similar to the Massoretic Text in this respect that late collation seems demanded.[1] The hopelessly bad state of the Vulgate Text and the doubt as to whether it testified to the Massoretic Text or to the Old Latin, that is, the Greek ultimately, makes its testimony mainly valuable when confirmed by others. The same is true of the Syriac, which can be proved correct only in such instances as 30:24, where it is supported by the regular Greek, plus Aquila and Symmachus, or in 4:1, o $\Sigma\upsilon\rho os$ with the Greek and o $E\beta\rho\alpha\iota os$, or with the Greek in 15:6 and 30:10, though the fact that in each case Elohim is the supplanter of Yahweh is a little suspicious.

The greatest weight is naturally given to the Greek. At first sight the number of variants is enormous, and it is possible in numerous cases to choose the one one's theory demands. We have seen, however, that on a comparison with the Massoretic Text, made for an entirely different purpose and with the question of the divine names left out of the account, the BAy Text has some twenty chances to one that it has not been tampered with. The group egj, on the other hand, so constantly appealed to by Dahse[2] to furnish the Greek original, has been conformed to the Hebrew in 20 per cent of the cases, that is, it occupies almost exactly middle ground between the good text BAy and the "hexaplaric" acmoxc₂ Arm. Obviously we should in general confine ourselves to BAy, without prejudice to others on detailed questions. My own impression, to give it for what it is worth and with its subjective character frankly admitted, is that there is no case in Genesis where, on grounds confined to the

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[1] In 20:18, F reads Elohim with the Massoretic Text. Note the additional variant of L on Gen. 50:24, וְהָאֱלֹהִים, Tisserant, *Rev. Bibl.*, N.S., XI, 542 ff. Why Skinner, *Names* 38, says the reading in 7:1 "is not quite certain" I cannot imagine. Von Gall has no variants.

[2] *Textkritische Materialien, passim.*

Greek text alone, we should not accept BAy in their reading of the divine names.

Taking, then, this text, we have two cases of Yahweh being read for Elohim, in chapters 19 and 21, and I have no doubt that they are correct. Against this there are twenty-four cases where Elohim is read for Yahweh. The multiplied use of the generic for the concrete awakens suspicion that the title has taken the place of the proper name. Further confirmation of this suspicion is found in the twenty-three cases of κυριος ο θεος, where all but five represent a Yahweh of the Hebrew. Of these twenty-three cases not one represents Yahweh Elohim.[1] What has happened is seen when we turn to the other manuscripts, notably the groups egj and fir, correction or conflation from κυριος and θεος to κυριος ο θεος. With this in view we must look with suspicion on variants of this type in the secondary groups. In any given verse, we may make out a case for individual readings, but, taken as a whole, the readings cannot be accepted as original.

Now just what does this all mean? In a few cases Astruc's clue is certainly misleading, in a few other cases that possibility must be left an open question. On the whole the manuscripts and versions we would use with the most confidence agree essentially with the Massoretic Text in their readings of the divine names. If the current theory is incorrect, that must be proved on other grounds.

Without the later paper it is obviously impossible to sum up all the evidence for and against the theory. In certain cases we have seen the theory corrected, and other examples will be given in a later paper. The corrections may considerably modify the details; as to the theory as a whole once more we must give a *non liquet*.

The exact situation is not, after all, quite correctly expressed in the last sentence. The higher critic has sinned in not devoting more attention to the evidence of the lower, and in some cases this has unfavorably affected his results. He has also made a strategic error in not utilizing to the full the evidence which so regularly proves, and proves in later times than he had assumed, the processes which the critical theory considers basal. In Genesis we do not have editorial redaction to the same extent as in Kings, for example, but

[1] Cf. especially N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 25 ff.

we have enough for proof, and it is the more emphatic in that it is found in the Law.   If the Law, the most sacred of the Hebrew writings, was not free from editorial redaction until long after the date of the Greek translation, *a fortiori* we may expect more elaborate editing in the less sacred.   Certainly, to the student who has familiarized himself with the editorial activities indicated by the versions, there is nothing strange in the similar activities postulated by the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen theory.[1]

[1] Cf. the very just remarks of N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 46, with the emphatic condemnation, based largely on misunderstanding of what I wrote, by Barton, *ibid.*, 62 ff.   Among my predecessors who appreciated the B Text should be noted H. Hrozny, *Die Abweichungen des Codex Vaticanus vom hebräischen Texte in den Königsbüchern* (1909), a Tübingen dissertation, not cited by Rahlfs, *Septuaginta Studien*, and not generally known.   The work is primarily textual, only B.A. and the Lucianic are used, and the ignoring of the other manuscript data and of the hexaplaric translators has weakened the work.   For instance, the problem of the epitomes seems much simpler than when we recognize the close connection with Aquila, and he can assume a Hebrew original and give them independent value.   On the whole his estimate of B is favorable, though he recognized interpolations even in the Jeroboam story.   He also recognizes the "Deuteronomistic" character of the additions, but does not follow out his discovery to its logical conclusion.   In view of the fact that he clearly does not realize where he is going, his recognition of the Deuteronomistic character is important independent evidence: "Der MT ist an dieser Stelle [12:24o] bedeutend ausführlicher; er wimmelt geradezu von deuteronomistischen Zusätzen . . . . die in dem Zusatz fehlen.   So gewährt uns hier der griechische Zusatz wieder einen Blick in die Werkstatt der Deuteronomisten" (39).   "Das Plus des MT ist meist nur sekundärer Art.   Höchst interessant ist, dass manche Sätze, die deutlich einen deuteronomistischen Charakter tragen, in dem Zusatz fehlen.   So sind wir vor die Frage gestellt, ob es näher liege, dass ein kurzer und einfacher Text von einem späteren Bearbeiter durch deuteronomistische Zusätze und durch Wiederholungen erweitert worden. . . . . Wir müssen uns für das Erstere entscheiden, weil es das Naturgemässe ist und in den Geschichtsbüchern des AT immer wieder vorkommt" (41).

THE PROBLEM OF ISAIAH, CHAPTER 10

By Kemper Fullerton
Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

I

Did Isaiah teach the inviolable sanctity of Jerusalem? The answer to this question will largely determine our view of the development of the Deuteronomic idea. It is therefore one of the most fundamental questions in the history of Old Testament religion and has been one of the most hotly debated. In the discussion of it Isa., chap. 10, has occupied the crucial position. In its present form this chapter undoubtedly *does* teach the inviolability of Jerusalem. But can the present form of the chapter be trusted? Before undertaking to answer this question it is well to recall the fact that Isa., chap. 10, does not stand alone, but is closely related to a large group of prophecies in Isaiah, the so-called anti-Assyrian prophecies. These prophecies announce the doom of Assyria and either expressly or by implication announce at the same time the deliverance of Jerusalem. They fall into two groups, those prophecies which are complete in themselves, and which may therefore be called independent prophecies,[1] and the fragmentary prophecies.[2] If we leave chap. 10 out of account for a moment and consider the remainder of the first group, two difficulties at once strike the attention: the difficulty of adjusting these various prophecies to their literary contexts and the difficulty of locating them in the historical context of Isaiah's lifetime. Of the six independent prophecies only chap. 37 is brought into relationship, both with its literary context and with a historical situation in Isaiah's lifetime. It is imbedded in the historical narratives which describe the campaign of Sennacherib in 701. Unfortunately the trustworthiness of these narratives has been so undermined that the genuineness of the prophecy which is connected with them is seriously compromised. Two of the prophecies (14:24–27 and chap. 18) have

[1] Isa. 10:5–34; 14:24–27; 18; 30:27–33; 33; 37:22–28.
[2] Isa. 8:8b–10; 17:12–14; 29:5–7; 31:5–9.

a general topical relationship with their context in so far as they are component parts of the group of foreign prophecies, chaps. 13–23. Apart from this very general connection these prophecies have no literary connection whatever. Two prophecies (30:27–33 and chap. 33) are connected with their contexts in what may be called a didactic fashion, but the connection is a very singular one, to say the least. They belong to a very definite section of the present collection of the Book of Isaiah, chaps. 28–33. This section is compiled on a clearly discernible plan, and one that is adhered to with remarkable consistency. Announcements of doom are invariably balanced with promises of deliverance. The regularity of the alternation is so undeviating that it produces the impression of artifice. Chapter 33 is one of the two lengthy eschatological prophecies (chap. 32 is the other) in which the section as a whole culminates. In chap. 33 the doom which is the keynote of the section disappears altogether, and the section is thus allowed to close in a burst of messianic sunshine. In the same way that chap. 33 furnishes consolation to the general section (chaps. 28–32) as a whole, 30:27–33 furnishes, along with vss. 18–26, consolation to the threatening subsection which precedes it (30:1–17). In other words, the relationship of these two prophecies to their contexts is purely didactic, not historical. It may be added that both these prophecies are almost certainly later accretions to the section in which they now stand. The hope in them does not simply supplement the preceding doom; it cancels it. If we next look for indications of the date of these independent prophecies in the prophecies themselves as distinct from their contextual relationship, it will be seen that either no historical allusion is to be found in them or, where they seem to spring out of some sort of a concrete historical background, as in the case of chaps. 18 and 33, it is impossible to define it.[1] Chapter 37 is again an exception to this generalization, but its evidence is once more compromised by its agreement with the unhistorical narratives in which it is found. Thus not one of the independent anti-Assyrian prophecies apart from Isa., chap. 10, furnishes a trustworthy clue, either in its literary

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[1] The current interpretations of chap. 18 are without any secure exegetical and critical basis.

connection or in itself, to the historical situation out of which it was spoken.

If we turn to the fragmentary prophecies and look first at the internal indexes of date, we again find absolutely nothing which is definite or tangible in the way of a historical allusion. Yet it may be answered that this need not surprise us since we are dealing with only small fragments of prophecy. But in that case we should have the right to expect that here at least the *contexts* would help us to supply the historical background out of which these fragments are to be interpreted. Now it so happens that the contexts of these prophecies are definite in their historical background and hence datable with a reasonable measure of assurance. We might expect, therefore, that, through the relationship of the fragmentary prophecies to their contexts, we should be enabled to locate these fragments in Isaiah's life and with this basis to start from date the independent prophecies. But at this point a most singular phenomenon meets us. Not one of these prophecies is in an intelligible relationship to its context. As a matter of fact, like the longer prophecies (30: 27-33 and chap. 33) they do not supplement, they actually contradict, their contexts. For this reason I have spoken of them as fragmentary. Here is an extraordinary situation indeed—an extensive group of prophecies, purporting to deal with Assyria, the most important political factor in Isaiah's day, a factor in which Isaiah, as we know from other oracles, was intensely interested, and yet with practically no marks of the situation out of which they sprang and most of them actually contradicting the contexts in which they are now placed! It is little wonder that, when only the supposed historical allusions apart from their ideas are relied upon, the dating of these prophecies by those who have accepted their genuineness has been a matter of pure guesswork. *In fact, if the genuineness of Isa., chap. 37, in its present historical setting is given up, the only clue left for the dating and historical interpretation of the anti-Assyrian prophecies is chap. 10.* This chapter has usually played the rôle of the great bellwether of the anti-Assyrian prophecies. Where chap. 10 has gone the others have ordinarily followed. But where has chap. 10 gone? It has roamed pretty much everywhere through Isaiah's life.

If we look first at its contextual connection, we discover that it plays the same rôle in the great section, chaps. 1–12, which chap. 33 plays in the section chaps. 28–33.   Chapter 10 along with chaps. 11 and 12 permit the threats and denunciations which again furnish the keynote of this section to close in a great C major of messianic joy.   Its contextual relationship, therefore, is again didactic and not historical.   Is this not beginning to be a suspicious circumstance?   If we turn to the internal indexes of date, at first sight we seem to be on firmer ground than in the case of the other prophecies. There appear to be more hopeful clues to follow.   As long as the complete integrity of the entire chapter was maintained the main data for the chronological location of the chapter were the following: (1) vss. 28–34, referring to an invasion from the North, sometimes regarded as a historical description (Hitzig), sometimes as a prophetic idealization (Gesenius);   (2) vss. 24–27, with their supposed implication that Judah was still tributary to Assyria and therefore to be located before 701;   (3) vs. 20, with its supposed implication that Judah was still in alliance with Assyria, and hence referred to the time of Ahaz (König); but, above all, (4) vs. 9, with its reference to the conquest of Samaria in 722 and with its probable reference to the conquest of Carchemish in 717, and therefore to be located some time after this latter date (so most commentators at the present time).   But just how long after 717 is the prophecy to be placed?   Some scholars put it just about this time and consider that it was written under the impression made by the fall of Samaria.[1] Others have connected it with chap. 20, and accordingly locate it in the time of Sargon's campaign against Ashdod.[2]   Still others, and they are in the majority, prefer a date in the early years of Sennacherib, but whether before the great campaign of 701 or in the midst of it is not agreed upon.   So far as the historical allusions are concerned it might belong to either of these periods.   Therefore resort is had to the ideas of the passage to help determine its date. It is said that the prophecy (vss. 28–32) expects an immediate invasion of Judah.[3]   But immediately after 717 there was nothing to

[1] Gesenius, Dillmann, W. Robt. Smith.

[2] Hitzig, Guthe, Cheyne, Kuenen.

[3] Cf. especially Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia* (1893).

occasion such an anticipation.   Nor could it fall in 711, for in that
year Isaiah expected still further conquests of Assyria.[1]   Hence it
must be later than 711, and because it anticipates an invasion it
would naturally be located about 701.   Undoubtedly this is the
date one instinctively thinks of in connection with chap. 10.   But
why?   Simply because everyone is more or less under the domina-
tion of the Isaiah narratives and the prophecies in chap. 37.   But
at this point criticism sets in.   The Isaiah narratives as they stand
are unreliable and should not be allowed to color our view of the
situation in 701.   II Kings 18:13 ff. and the Sennacherib inscrip-
tions are the only authentic historical documents out of that period,
and these both imply a great disaster for Judah.   Again, chaps.
28–31 find their only adequate historical background when they
are interpreted of Isaiah's protest against the Egyptian alliance in
705–701.   Now if criticism has accomplished any sure result in the
study of Isaiah it is the elimination of the hope elements from
these chapters.   In chaps. 28–31 the announcement of doom is
the sole original element.   Chapter 10, if dated about 701, would
accordingly stand in the most uncompromising contrast with the
other prophecies of this period and with the known historical sit-
uation.   Hence chap. 10 has sometimes been placed earlier than
705–701; sometimes chap. 10 has been left standing in 705–701, and
chaps. 28–31 have been placed earlier in order to avoid the conflict
between them.   Sometimes Hezekiah's reforms have been inserted
between the doom in chaps. 28–31 and the hope in them and in
chap. 10 to account for the otherwise abrupt change from doom to
hope.   Sometimes Sennacherib's inscriptions have been juggled
with, and a great deliverance of Judah has been read into them in
order to make the historical situation agree with chap. 10.   I do
not believe that any of these expedients will be permanently satis-
fying.   If chap. 10 in its present form is retained in 701, it presents
an insoluble enigma.   Yet if it is kept intact it cannot be placed in
an earlier period.   There are only two methods by which the problem
of chap. 10 can be attacked with any hope of success.   The first is
to place it *after* 701 and connect it with a hypothetical second cam-
paign of Sennacherib.   This is the method followed by Staerk.[2]

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[1] Cf. Hackmann again and chap. 20.   [2] *Das assyrische Weltreich* (1908).

This method was suggested by me two years before the appearance of Staerk's monograph in a discussion[1] which I cannot but feel merits more attention than it has had the fortune to receive. I still think that there is a possibility of an interesting speculative defense of the genuineness, not only of some of the anti-Assyrian prophecies, but of some of the messianic prophecies as well, by opening up the unexplored territory that lies beyond 701. But in the case before us 10:9 presents a serious difficulty in the way of this hypothesis, a difficulty to which Staerk does scant justice. If chap. 10 falls *after* 701, it is certainly a singular thing that none of the Assyrian successes at that time is alluded to in it. It has often been noted that the conquests in vs. 9 are those of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. This fact makes very strongly against a lower date than 701 for the prophecy. If chap. 10, on the other hand, is to be placed either *in* or *before* 701, the only resort, in order to relieve us from the intolerable difficulties in which such a dating involves us, is to criticism.

The earlier criticism of Koppe and Eichhorn which sought to solve the problems of the chapter by disintegrating it were checked very largely by the authority of Gesenius and Ewald, and even Hitzig practically admitted its unity. Giesebrecht seems to have been the first to note its compilatory character.[2] He suggested that vss. 22 and 23 were later added by Isaiah himself to one of his earlier prophecies.[3] Dillmann maintained a literary unity but not an oratorical unity for the chapter. That is, he held that chap. 10 was not a speech *uno tenore*, but a collection of oracles by Isaiah himself out of different periods of his life. But it was Duhm, who for the first time, seriously attacked the integrity of the chapter.[4] He denied the genuineness of all the latter half (vss. 15–34) and held that even vss. 5–14 show indubitable marks of compilation. Hackmann, radical as he usually was in his criticism, thought he could get along with the elimination of vss. 24–27 alone. He interpreted the rest of the chapter as a woe against Assyria, but a woe which did not imply the deliverance of Jerusalem. Hence he was able to bring

[1] "The Campaign of Sennacherib." *Bibliotheca Sacra* (October, 1906).

[2] *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik* (1890).

[3] This view belongs to his theory that Isaiah revised his own prophecies at different times and with different purposes.

[4] *Jesaia* (1892).

it into harmony with the true historical situation of 701 and the genuine prophecies in chaps. 28–31. In this view Hackmann was followed by Volz.[1] But this interpretation of chap. 10 as it stands is clearly untenable. It is impossible not to admit that the present form of the chapter teaches the deliverance of Jerusalem. If such an idea is incompatible with Isaiah's views, it must be eliminated, not by interpretation, but by criticism. This criticism Marti ventured upon.[2] He accepted Duhm's results, which ascribed only vss. 5–14 to Isaiah and left these verses themselves in a decidedly crumbling plight. Marti suggested that the "woe" of vs. 5 might not be original and that it was an open question whether Isaiah really meant to pronounce a judgment upon Assyria in this chapter. Staerk has jeered at the position of Marti, and, indeed, in the form in which he presents his view it is anything but convincing. But can this view be made more probable? Much will depend upon the answer to this question. In the process of critical investigation all the anti-Assyrian prophecies, both independent and fragmentary, have been denied to Isaiah, except chaps. 10 and 18. But the labor of criticism upon this group of prophecies is as good as wasted if 10:5–14 are left standing. These verses in their present form teach the inviolability of Jerusalem and cannot be made to teach anything else. If they are accepted, we may as well accept the trailers as well and be done with it and return to the era of criticism before Stade. But then, unless we go down below 701, we are left with a problem on our hands in the case of the anti-Assyrian prophecies which is practically insoluble. Hence Marti can hardly be blamed after all for attempting to storm the final bulwark in chap. 10 of the theory that Isaiah taught the doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem. I propose to ask whether Marti's view is after all so utterly out of the range of legitimate criticism.

II

The passage, 10:5–15, naturally breaks up into three sections, vss. 5–7, vss. 8–12, and vss. 13–15. The last of these is the clearest and most readily understood. In vss. 13 f. the thought is exclusively

[1] *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie* (1897).

[2] *Das Buch Jesaia* (1900).

of the self-confidence of Assyria. All its conquests are due to its own power; it is self-sufficient. This is also the thought of vs. 15. Verse 15 does not necessarily imply that Assyria is opposing Jahweh's plans, but only that it is foolish for Assyria to suppose that it is carrying on its conquests in its own strength. The עַל of vs. 15b does not imply Assyria's opposition to Jahweh's plans, but only a difference between Jahweh's and Assyria's theories of the way in which the plans are executed. This is clear from vs. 15b, where no difference in plans is implied, and is supported by the absolutely analogous use of עַל in Judg. 7:2. The language of vs. 15 is no doubt awkward in the extreme, and on this ground the verse has been denied to Isaiah. But I cannot feel that the thought is un-Isaianic, and it is almost necessary here in order to give point to vss. 13 f. That vs. 15 connects better with vs. 11[1] cannot be admitted. The verse is a *reductio ad absurdum* of Assyria's theory of its conquests.

If vss. 13–15 are taken by themselves, it is not necessary to hold that the doom of Assyria must follow. Only the absurdity of Assyria's theory is exposed. It would be quite appropriate, it is true, if some *proof* of the absurdity of the theory followed, but such a proof is not necessary in order to complete the thought. At another point, however, the thought in vss. 13–15 *is* incomplete. Assyria's theory of its conquests is plainly expressed, but Jahweh's theory is not so clearly formulated. A precise statement of the antithetic thought is required. Is it anywhere to be found? The mention of "rod" and "staff," vs. 15b, points us back to vss. 5–7.

If vss. 5–7a alone are considered, omitting vs. 7b, just the complementary thought which we need is found. Jahweh's theory is that Assyria is a rod with which to destroy sinning nations. It is therefore under Jahweh's control, and he uses it for ethical ends (vss. 5 f.). But Assyria imagines that this work of destruction is accomplished by its own powers (vss. 7a, 13 f.). This supposition of Assyria is as absurd as it would be for an ax or a saw to boast over him who wields them (vs. 15). On this view of the relationship of the verses the antithesis is perfect; destruction (vs. 6b) is set over against destruction (vss. 13 f.). The only difference is in the *theory* of the destruction. Is it due to Assyria's power, as Assyria

[1] Duhm and Marti.

supposes? In that case it would have no ethical significance. Or
is it due to Jahweh's judgment upon sinning nations? In that
case its ethical meaning is obvious. It is to be carefully noted that
on the foregoing interpretation vss. 5–7a contain the statement of
a *general truth*. The sinning nation is accordingly not to be identi-
fied with any particular nation to the exclusion of all others.[1] It
is also to be carefully noted that if vss. 13–15 are connected with
vss. 5–7a, vs. 6b will signify destruction.[2] But what, then, is the
force of the "woe," vs. 5a? Granted that the doom of Assyria is
implied in the "woe," and this is the only natural interpretation,[3]
would this imply that the doom of Assyria means the deliverance
of the sinning nations? If it did, a contradiction would result, for
we have just seen that vs. 6, when interpreted in the light of vss.
13–15, signifies their destruction. Assyria does in vss. 13–15 what
Jahweh plans in vs. 6, but does it on a different *theory*. What
Jahweh intends as a great ethical judgment Assyria regards as a
bird's-nesting expedition. Hence the doom of Assyria hinted at in
the "woe" of vs. 5 cannot imply deliverance of the sinning nations,
but must be construed as a proof that Assyria really was only an
instrument of God and without power in itself. When Jahweh no
longer needs it, it, too, will be destroyed. Thus, if vss. 5–7a and
13–15 are taken by themselves, there is nothing to indicate that
Jerusalem is to be exempt from destruction even if the originality
of the "woe" is admitted.

But when we turn to vs. 7b a new and unexpected thought is
introduced. When vs. 7b is interpreted in its present connection,
it would seem to indicate that the difference in Jahweh's and As-
syria's *plans* is the point at issue, not the difference in the theories of

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[1] So Ewald, Cheyne, Duhm, Skinner, Gray, Marti (?). The imperfect is then best
taken as the imperfect of customary action. This view of vs. 6a is in every way prefer-
able to the view which sees in the sinning nation a special reference to Israel (Gesenius,
Hitzig, with reference to 9:16, 18; Guthe, *Isaiah*, p. 47) or to Judah (Marti, on the sup-
position that the passage is in its original form, Whitehouse) or to Judah and Israel (De-
litzsch, Dillmann, with reference to 9:16, 18 on the one hand and vs. 12 on the other). On
these latter views the imperfect is variously interpreted as purely historical (Gesenius)
or of repeated action in past time (Hitzig) or of incompleted action in the present (Dill-
mann) or of the future (Delitzsch).

[2] The foregoing connection has already been suggested by Duhm and adopted by
Marti, but neither of these scholars has formulated the reasons for this connection nor
the results of it as carefully as might be done.

[3] It is certainly not the הזיר of incitement; cf. Zech. 2:12.

Assyria's conquests. Jahweh proposes to chastise *sinning* nations; Assyria proposes to destroy *all* nations. With the introduction of this new thought the "woe" receives a new meaning. It is pronounced upon Assyria because Assyria proposes to overstep the bounds which Jahweh has set. The "woe" would accordingly certainly imply that Assyria's purpose was not to be accomplished; in other words, it would imply deliverance. *Thus, as soon as vs. 7b is introduced into the argument, the "woe" at once gains a new and very definite implication;* Assyria seeks to destroy those nations whom Jahweh plans only to chastise. Therefore woe unto it. This (impliedly) shall not come to pass.

But why, we may next ask, is the *general* proposition that Jahweh uses Assyria only to chastise and not to destroy sinning nations advanced? This question leads us to consider the relation of vss. 8–12 to their context. The antithesis set forth in these verses is not between the two theories of Assyria's activity but between the two *plans* of Jahweh and Assyria with respect to Jerusalem. Assyria plans to destroy Jerusalem as it has destroyed other nations (vss. 9–11). But Jahweh plans only to chastise Jerusalem, and therefore, because Assyria proposes to do more, Jahweh will destroy it (vs. 12). Verses 8–12 thus present a special illustration of the general contrast expressed in vss. 5–7. *Jerusalem* is a sinning nation, but it is to be only chastised, not destroyed; it is Assyria which is to be destroyed. Observe that while the chastisement of Judah is not yet complete, the "whole work" not yet accomplished,[1] yet the thought of further chastisement is only hinted at. It is tucked away in a subordinate clause while the emphasis of vs. 12 is allowed to fall upon the destruction of Assyria.[2]

If we take vss. 5–12 as they stand, the three controlling factors in its interpretation have been found to be (*a*) the "woe,"

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[1] "His whole work," vs. 12, is almost certainly to be defined, in view of the general context, as Jahweh's work of chastisement upon Zion (so scholars generally) rather than the work which includes *both* the chastisement of Judah and the punishment of Assyria (Hitzig, Marti), in spite of the fact that the former view tends to reflect a future perfect force upon יבצע. If Hitzig's view is adopted, the logical result will be, as Hitzig himself sees, to take the clause "upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem" with what follows. This logical result of his view reveals its improbability.

[2] Hackmann (p. 105, followed by Volz, p. 52) is clearly wrong, therefore, when he seeks to interpret vs. 12 in such a way as to make it teach the common destruction of Jerusalem and Assyria and so to bring chap. 10 into harmony with the prophecies of doom in 705–701.

(b) the general contrast between the plan of Jahweh to use Assyria as a rod of chastisement and the plan of Assyria to use its own imaginary power to destroy, and (c) the specific illustration of this general antithesis in the case of Jerusalem.   Assyria proposes to destroy Jerusalem, but Jahweh will only chastise it.   Therefore woe to Assyria!   The woe of vs. 5, the antithesis suggested by vs. 7b compared with vss. 5–7a, and vs. 12 go together, and together they certainly imply the deliverance of Jerusalem.   *But is this the original teaching of the passage?*

In the first place it is a noteworthy fact that two thoughts seem to be struggling together, like Esau and Jacob, in its womb, the thought of the contrast between two *theories* as to Assyria's conquests and the thought of the contrast between two *plans*.   In themselves these two thoughts are in no way incompatible with each other, but a slight suspicion is aroused when we next observe that vss. 5–7 must serve a double purpose.   They are necessary to complete both thoughts.   If we take only vss. 5–7a, then the natural continuation is found at vss. 13–15.   If vs. 7b is added, then the natural continuation is found at vss. 8–12.

In the next place it is to be noticed that when the two thoughts are combined, as in the present case, there is no clear progress in the passage as a whole.   If vss. 5–7 and 8–12 are taken together, the thought of the antithesis between the two plans of Jahweh and Assyria is worked out to its logical conclusion at vs. 12; or if vss. 5–7a and 13–15 are taken together, the antithesis between the two theories is again expressed in a rounded form.   But if vss. 5–12 and vss. 13–15 are combined all progress in the passage as a whole is lost.   Verses 13–15 limp after vss. 5–12.   But is it not curious that whereas they limp after vss. 5–12 they do not limp after vss. 5–7a, but receive just the complementary thought which they need?

All these phenomena strongly suggest that we are dealing here with a passage which has been worked over.   This is the impression which has steadily gained ground ever since Duhm's criticism of the chapter.   The two contrasts between the different theories of Assyria's activity on the one hand and the different plans of Jahweh and Assyria on the other are not brought into any organic relationship.   It is altogether probable that one of these contrasts is not

original. Which shall we eliminate? A closer examination of vss. 8–12, of the contrast between vss. 5–7a and vs. 7b and of the "woe," the three factors in vss. 5–12 which we have seen to be intimately related to each other, may enable us to answer this question.

1. In the first place objection has often been taken since Duhm's criticism to vs. 12, and very properly taken. The verse is pure prose and prose of the most awkward kind. Further, it interrupts in the most unpleasant way the speech of the Assyrian king. From the point of view of literary criticism alone and without reference to its ideas, vs. 12 is suspicious. *Yet this is the verse in which the contrast between the two plans of Jahweh and Assyria comes to its appropriate conclusion.* But vs. 12 does not stand alone; it is intimately connected in thought with vss. 10 and 11. In what does "the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria and the glory of his high looks" betray themselves if not in the threat against Jerusalem in vss. 10 f.? It might be thought that vs. 12 is only a gloss upon vss. 10 f., but this view is unsatisfactory. Verses 10 f. are incomplete without vs. 12. Verse 12 is not simply a gloss which might be dispensed with; it is necessary in order to complete the thought begun in vss. 10 f. Again, when these verses are examined more closely, they are found to be almost as unrhythmical and quite as awkward in their style as vs. 12 itself.[1] But it is just vss. 10–12 out of our second paragraph (vss. 8–12) which contain the special application of the contrast between vss. 5–7a and vs. 7b to the case of Jerusalem. Verses 8 f., if taken by themselves, have nothing to do with this contrast.[2] Thus the application of the contrast is, from the point of view of a purely literary criticism, suspicious.

[1] There is an incongruity between the implications in vss. 10 and 11. Verse 10 implies that both Jerusalem and Samaria are still unconquered. Verse 11 implies that Samaria has already been conquered. Verse 11 thus agrees with vs. 9 in its historical implications better than vs. 10 does. On the other hand, after the general allusions in vs. 9 we would expect the more general statement of vs. 10a rather than the single allusion to Samaria in vs. 11a. Commentators have usually ignored the incongruity (cf. Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Bredenkamp, Delitzsch, Skinner, Whitehouse, and even Duhm). Dillmann's attempt to explain it is certainly forced. Cheyne, Marti, Gray, and Wade call attention to it. Marti seems inclined to take vs. 11 with vs. 9 and to regard vs. 10 as a gloss to vs. 11, but his view is not very convincing. Duhm rejects the verses mainly on the ground of their thoughts. It is not probable, he claims, that Isaiah would represent the Assyrian king as referring to the gods of other nations as non-existent. This is really spoken from the Hebrew point of view (so also Cheyne).

[2] In the present context vss. 10–12 serve to point the moral of vss. 8, 9. But is this the moral that was originally designed? Observe that vs. 8 and vs. 9 are not closely related in thought and do not explain each other. Observe that vs. 9 says expressly only that certain cities have been destroyed. By itself vs. 9 could be construed as an

2. Let us next examine the contrast itself which exists between vss. 5–7a and vs. 7b. Just what *is* the contrast after all? Here it is surprising to note the differences of opinion among commentators. It has been found solely in the contrast between chastisement, vs. 6, and destruction, vs. 7,[1] and Zech. 1:15 and Isa. 47:6 have been adduced as parallels.[2] Again it has been found in the contrast between the one sinning nation, Israel, or Judah or both, and the many nations.[3] But if this is the contrast it is not accurately expressed. We would expect the phrase גוים לא בזעט, on which the contrast turns, to be placed after the first verb להשביד. Hitzig holds that it must be supplied here in thought, an interesting symptom of the doubtfulness of his theory. Finally it has been held that there was a *double* contrast, on the one hand, between chastisement and destruction, on the other between the sinning nations and the many nations, impliedly whether they are sinning or not.[4] The reasons for these opinions are more interesting than the opinions themselves. Hitzig limits the antithesis to the contrast between the sinning nation and the many nations with express rejection of the theory of Gesenius, *because vs. 6 does not mean merely chastisement*

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illustration of the statement in vss. 5 and 6, especially if vs. 6 were interpreted of destruction. Jahweh sends Assyria against sinning nations (vss. 5 and 6), and note what has been done already (vs. 9). Observe that in vs. 9 there is probably an implication of a threat against Jerusalem. The order of the towns is geographical, approaching nearer and nearer to Jerusalem. Who utters this threat? Verse 9, taken by itself, could be uttered by Jahweh (cf. Amos, chap. 1), and vs. 11 might then be construed as its continuation and also uttered by Jahweh, though the style must still be admitted to be suspicious. If, however, vs. 8 is retained, the speaker is undoubtedly the Assyrian king. In that case vss. 8 and 9 are more probably a parallel to vss. 13–15. Hence it is possible that the original intention was not to convey a threat against Jerusalem, but the cities mentioned in vs. 9 are mentioned only because they happened to have been already captured at the time these verses were spoken. On this view they would furnish the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy. Verses 8 and 9 have every appearance of being a fragment, and it is impossible to say now just what their original meaning may have been.

[1] So Gesenius and after him a large number of scholars, e.g., Bredenkamp. Whitehouse, Staerk (p. 90), Wade.

[2] Gesenius, Wade.

[3] So Hitzig, and so apparently Cheyne, Delitzsch, Guthe, (p. 47); Küchler, *Die Stellung des Propheten Jesaja zur Politik seiner Zeit* (1906), p. 52.

[4] This seems to be the view of Ewald, but it is worked out with the greatest formality by Dillmann. The הִשְׁמִיד is to be taken absolutely according to Dillmann, no object being supplied (against Hitzig), and is therefore in antithesis to the "spoiling" in the sense of chastisement. The "nations *not* a few" is contrasted with the few sinning nations (on Dillmann's view Israel and Judah). This theory is followed by Gray on the supposition that the text is intact, but with the contrast more generally expressed between any sinning nation and all nations.

but destruction. This point has not been sufficiently observed by any of Hitzig's successors with whom I am acquainted.[1] This interpretation of vs. 6*b* receives a remarkable corroboration from 8:1–4, where the name of Isaiah's son contains the *identical expressions* which are found in vs. 6*b*. It is passing strange how commentators have regularly failed to notice this connection. Only Dillmann and Gray refer to it, but they make no use of their reference. The point is that "Mahar-shalal-hash-baz" denotes the destruction of Samaria and Damascus. Isaiah was not thinking simply of chastisement when he gave to his son this name of dire import. But the phrase "to take the spoil and to take the prey" can scarcely mean destruction when it forms a proper name and merely chastisement when it is otherwise used. On the other hand, Dillmann is quite right as against Hitzig when he points out that vs. 7*b* is not adapted to express only the contrast between the sinning nation and the nations not a few. The instinct of the great majority of commentators which sees in the juxtaposition of vs. 7*b* to vss. 5–7*a* an intention to create a contrast between destruction and chastisement is sound.

The conclusion from these considerations is obvious. Verse 7*b* with its intention to express a contrast between chastisement and destruction reflects back the meaning of chastisement upon vs. 6*b*, *a meaning which it cannot properly bear.* In other words, the antithesis created is a false antithesis, and therefore not a genuine one.

Thus far I have sought to show that vss. 5–12 as they now stand contain two main ideas: first, the general principle that Jahweh uses Assyria as a rod of chastisement whereas Assyria seeks to destroy the nations, and, second, the specific illustration of this principle in the case of Jerusalem, according to which Jahweh proposes only to chastise Jerusalem, whereas Assyria seeks to destroy it, and hence incurs Jahweh's wrath (הוֹרִי). I have next sought to show that the specific application in vss. 10–12 of the general principle in vss. 5–7 is, from a literary point of view, very suspicious, and that the statement of the general principle itself involves a contrast between vss. 6*b* and 7*b* which cannot be regarded as

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[1] It is not brought out even by Duhm and Marti so clearly as by Hitzig, though they seem to be conscious of it when they suggest the separation of vs. 7*b* from vs. 7*a*, and when Duhm more particularly denies the legitimacy of Zech. 1:15 as a parallel.

original. But it is this contrast which, coupled with the illustration (vss. 10 and 12), expresses the doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem.

3. But what, then, of the third factor in the passage, namely, the woe (vs. 5a)? We have seen that this "woe," if attached to vss. 5–7a and vss. 13–15 alone, does not necessarily imply a deliverance of the sinning nations, yet it is admittedly somewhat vague in its suggestion. On the other hand, when combined with the false contrast suggested by vs. 7b and the doubtful illustration of the contrast found in vss. 10–12 it gains a clear meaning. The natural inference is that if the antithesis and its illustration are secondary elements in the passage[1] the "woe" which receives a clearly defined meaning only when combined with these secondary elements is itself secondary. In that case vs. 5a must have been originally a nominal sentence.[2] If my argument is sound, the subject of the prophecy in its original form was not the contrast between the *plan* of Jahweh, which involves chastisement but not destruction, and the plan of Assyria, which aimed at destruction, but the contrast between two *theories* of Assyria's conquests. Were these due to Assyria's own power or to Jahweh's? This was just the question which would be uppermost in the minds of the people in Isaiah's day and in the mind of the prophet himself. He answers, as we would expect him to answer, with an abandon in the expression of his faith which does not wait for proof but implies that it is sufficient in itself. Jerusalem is to be destroyed by Assyria, but Assyria is the instrument of Jahweh's judgment.

If the foregoing criticism is found to be valid, the greatest obstacle in the way of a unified view of Isaiah's prophecies will have been eliminated and it will be difficult to prove that Isaiah had anything directly to do with the creation or confirmation of the Deuteronomic idea which regards Jerusalem as sacrosanct.

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[1] It is not denied that vss. 7b, 8, and 9 may be genuine fragments of Isaiah; only their originality in the present context is questioned.

[2] Could the הוֹא be a reminiscence of that fact?

THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION FROM SARDIS

By Charles C. Torrey
Yale University

At some time in the year 1916 there was published by the firm E. J. Brill, in Leiden, Vol. VI, Part 1, of the *Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*.[1] The volume contains fifteen of the thirty-four Lydian inscriptions found in the course of the excavation, and also a Lydian-Aramaic bilingual. It is this last-named inscription which made the volume possible, since up to this time only a small part of the Lydian alphabet had been deciphered, and nothing at all was known about the language. Thanks to the presence here of half a dozen proper names occurring in both the Lydian and the Aramaic, a considerable advance is evidently possible. Littmann attacks the waiting problems with his usual acumen and thoroughness, and as a result has determined the majority of the Lydian characters, besides making many very interesting suggestions as to the meaning of recurring words and the signification of certain structural elements: It must be said, however, that beyond the proper names, one or two somewhat elusive particles, and the probable meaning of a few words and formulae (for most of the fifteen inscriptions here brought together are mortuary, and therefore bear a general resemblance to one another as well as to the fortunately preserved Aramaic), the language is still as much of a riddle as ever. It is not possible to read even a single sentence with certainty.

But my present concern is with the Aramaic part of the bilingual. My first acquaintance with it, or knowledge of its contents, came a few days ago (January, 1918) when Professor Butler very kindly sent me his own copy of the volume—one of the very few copies which are now in this country, the bulk of the edition being held in Leiden by reason of the war.   At the same time he sent me a reprint from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVIII (1917), containing

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[1] *Sardis: Volume VI. Lydian Inscriptions, Part 1.*   By Enno Littmann.   Pp. ix +85.

the first part of a review of Littmann's publication by Stanley A. Cook. As a matter of course I at first paid attention only to the excellent héliotype reproduction of the monument, casting no glance either at Littmann's conclusions or at Cook's comments until after finishing my own interpretation of the inscription.
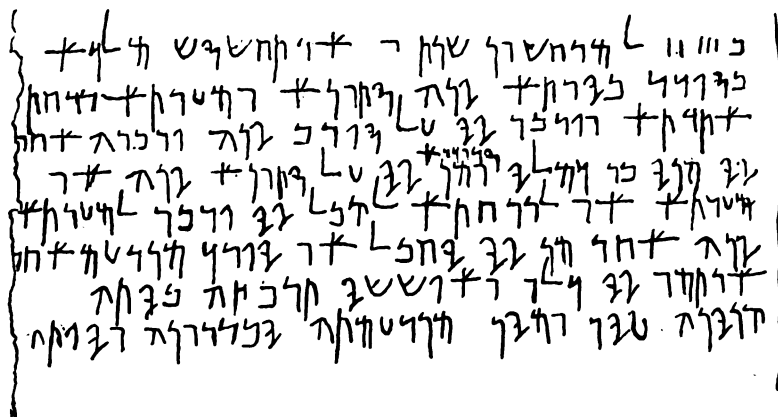
FIG. 1.—The Aramaic Text

The discovery of an Aramaic document of this extent, dated in the Achaemenian period, almost within sight of the Aegean Sea, is an event of great interest and importance. Hitherto the epigraphic evidence of the penetration of Asia Minor by the Aramaic language has included three inscriptions from Cilicia (see *JAOS*, XXXV, 371), a remarkable group from Arabissos-Yarapsun and Karaburna, in Cappadocia (*Ephemeris*, I, 59–74, 319–26; III, 65 f.), the lion-weight from Abydos on the Hellespont, a fragmentary bilingual from Lycia (*CIS*, II, 109), another from near Sivas (*Ephem.* II, 249 f.), and coins of Tarsus, Sinope, and Gaziura in Pontus. Students will look with eagerness to see what peculiarities, if any, in either script or idiom, are to be found in this new Western outpost.

The inscription presents in fact unexpectedly few difficulties, even in the proper names. The Hebrew-Aramaic name of Sardis, ספרד, found in lines 2 and (probably) 3, has been familiar from the Old Testament, Obadiah, vs. 20, where the Greek has Σφαρδα, Σαφαραδ (a later transliteration from the Hebrew), and several corrupt

variants. The correct identification, made chiefly on the basis of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, in three of which the district *Sparda* is not only located in Asia Minor, but also placed next to *Iauna*, the "Ionians" (see, e.g., Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das A.T.* [1883], pp. 446 f.) would never have been questioned if the fact had
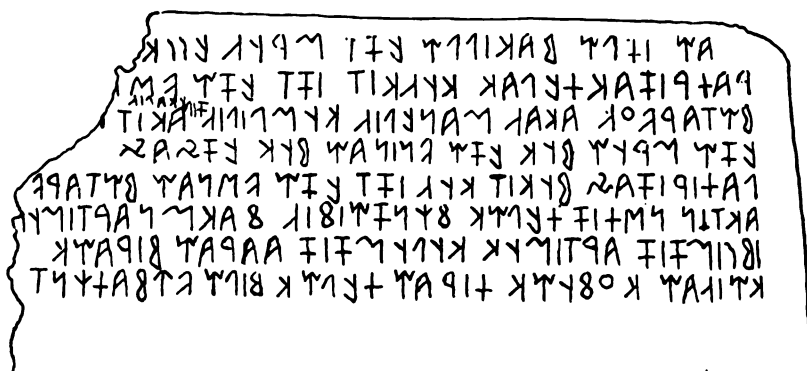
Fig. 2.—The Lydian Text

been more widely recognized that the Hebrew prophets, when they speak of "exiles," usually mean voluntary emigrants. The name of the goddess *Artemu*, Artemis, in line 7 was of course obvious at the first glance; and with this reading came also that of the two proper names immediately following, Coloë and Ephesus, especially since Pape-Benseler, *s.v.* Κολόη, makes reference to Strabo's statement regarding τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κολοηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μεγάλην ἁγιστείαν ἔχον. I also found Pape-Benseler ready with two of the proper names in line 4, giving Μάννης as occurring on a coin of Sardis (and Μάνης, Μάνις, etc., as a common Phrygian name), and Κάμβλης as a Lydian name. To get light on the strange word written here above the line, it became necessary to consult the Lydian half of the inscription, where the corresponding word is also inserted between the lines as an afterthought. I subjoin a facsimile of the Lydian text, which will be seen to be very helpful for the control of the proper names: *Mane(lid)*, *Kumli(lid)*, *Siluka(lid)*, the last-named written above the line, in line 3; *Artimu-*, in line 6; *Ibši(msis)*, *Artimu(k)*, *Kulu(msis)*, in line 7. The very close relation of each of the

characters in these names to its corresponding letter in the Old Greek alphabet is at once apparent. For the attempt to identify the remaining characters and to interpret this document, the reader is referred to Littmann's admirable essay.

Of the several foreign words in the Aramaic, two are already familiar. פרבר, lines 3 (twice), 5, "ante-chamber, outer court," etc., occurs in Old Testament Hebrew, I Chron. 26:18; cf. II Kings 23:11; סתונא, lines 2, 4, "column, stele," is well known in neo-Persian and also in Syriac. No one could hesitate over either word in a preliminary reading, though doubts as to origin and orthography are possible, as will be seen. The word דרהת in lines 2 and 5 immediately suggested the Persian درخت diraḫt, "pillar," which might well be in place here. The first word in line 3, אתרתא, is quite new. For the rest of the inscription, lines 1, 7, and 8 (excepting the last word) could be dismissed at once as obvious and needing no further study.

I transliterate as follows:

1   ב 5 לבירהשוך שׁנת 10 ארתחשׁסשׁ מלכא
2   בספרד ביתא זנה סתונא ובירתא דרהת
3   אתרתא ופרבר זי על ספרד זנה פרברה אחר
4   זי מני בר כמלי סרוכיא ובך זי על סתונה זנה או
5   מירתא או לדרהתא לקבל זי פרבר למירתא
6   זנה אחד מך זי יהבל או יפרך מנדעם אחד
7   ארתמו זי כלו ואפשׁשׁי תרבצה ביתה
8   קנינה מך ובך ובמנדעמתה יבדרונה ויפתה

Littmann's reading differs slightly from this. In line 3 he reads אחר, and prefers both here and in line 5 the spelling פרבד. In lines 2 and 5 he hesitates between רדהת and דרהת, and in line 2 supplies the conjunction ו before the word and the letter א after it. In line 6 he reads אחד both times. His translation is the following:

1. *On the 5th of Marḥešwān of the 10th year of King Artaxerxes,*
2. *in the city of Sardis. This stele and the cavern [and] the funerary*
3. *couches (?) and the fore-court which is above Sardis(?), this its fore-court, [they are] the property*
4. *of MNY, son of KMLY, of SRWK. And if anybody against this stele or*

5. *the cavern or the funerary couches*(*?*) *opposite the fore-court of this*
                    cavern,
6. *that is to say, if anybody destroys or breaks anything, then*
7. *may Artemis of KLW and of Ephesos with regard to his court, his house,*
8. *his property, soil and water, and everything that is his disperse him and*
                    his heir(s).

Littmann comments on the surprising awkwardness of this, and is very severe on the Aramaic of the inscription, which he pronounces ungrammatical in the extreme, mixing genders and numbers repeatedly and using words in unheard-of ways. He explains this (p. 24) as due to two things, chiefly: (1) The inscription was rendered very literally from Lydian into Aramaic; the translator "seems even to have followed Lydian syntax mechanically." (2) The translator was ignorant of the Aramaic language, a fact which "is not so very much to be wondered at if we take into consideration the probability that nobody spoke Aramaic at Sardis."

I believe that Littmann is altogether mistaken in these suppositions. It is not antecedently probable that the one part of the bilingual is a rendering of the other. Where is the Semitic bilingual inscription, amounting to more than a bare name or two, in which the one text merely duplicates its fellow? Certainly the rule, illustrated by a host of examples, is that each version goes its own way without regard to the other. Moreover, in this very instance, such comparison of the two texts as can be made seems to me to show that they differed from each other very considerably. I am interested to see that Cook expresses the same opinion in his review. The very fact of the bilingual is evidence that Aramaic *was* spoken in Sardis. We have also the corroborative evidence of the Lycian bilingual (Greek and Aramaic) from Limyra, also a mortuary inscription belonging to about this same period. (In this also, by the way, the two texts do not correspond at all closely.) We must draw the same conclusion here as in the case of the bilinguals of Palmyra, Phoenicia, Egypt, Greece, Crete, Malta, North Africa, and other lands of the ancient world, namely, the fact of a mixed population. Travel was much freer and commerce and emigration much more extensive in this early period than our historians have been wont to recognize. I myself have believed for many years (I may be permitted to refer

to my *Ezra Studies*, pp. 153, n. 23; pp. 293–97) that colonies of Jews, emigrating chiefly for purposes of trade, were in all the principal cities of Asia Minor as early as the beginning of the Achaemenian rule.

If we could read the history of Phoenicia, Asia Minor, North Africa, and the Greek islands and shores in this early period, we should doubtless find that the waves of migration in the seventh century and thereafter carried some Jews to each of these regions, and to still others as well. . . . . After the restoration of Jerusalem . . . . the Jewish settlements in foreign lands grew steadily larger. These were the "exiles" of whom the Old Testament prophets are constantly speaking [*Ezra Studies*, p. 296].

Hence the allusion to Sardis in Obadiah, vs. 20, referred to above. But I have no doubt that other Aramaic-speaking sojourners, more numerous than the Jews, were in these cities of western Asia Minor.[1]

As for the language of this inscription, I cannot agree with Littmann that it is ungrammatical or exhibits solecisms. Cook dissents in general from Littmann's sweeping condemnation, but accepts his rendering with only the slightest change. I am not sure that my interpretation is the correct one, but it at least has the merit of supposing idiomatic Aramaic at every point. I should render as follows:

On the 5th of *Marḥešwān*, in the 10th year of King *Artaxerxes*, in the fortress Sardis. This is the stele and the tomb-cavern, the fire-pillar(?) and the vestibule, which are above Sardis. This is the vestibule of the descendants of *Mani*, son of *Kumli*, of the family of *Sirūk*. Whoever seizes upon this stele or the tomb-cavern, or takes away the pillar at the front of this vestibule of the cavern; whoever destroys or injures anything; *Artemis* of *Koloë* and of the *Ephesians* will take away his estate, his house, his property, soil and water; and everything belonging to him shall be scattered both for him and for his heirs(?).

The details of this document seem to me to be natural in all respects. At the time when it was composed we may suppose that the tomb-complex belonging to this family was the only one in this place "above Sardis." Later others were added. Mani and Kumli were both extremely common names in the city (as we know), hence it was soon found necessary to designate the family more exactly

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[1] We now have Aramaic inscriptions from the north, west, south, and center of Asia Minor, including seven provinces. No one of these documents is Jewish, but all are of distinctly Gentile origin.

by putting in the gentilic צָרִדְכָּיא, added above the line in both texts.   As we well know, ancient burial properties frequently passed from one owner to another, either by legal transfer or by forcible appropriation.   In the latter case the things to be seized would be precisely those named here: the tomb-complex, the stele with the inscription, and the fire-altar (if I have rightly understood the words) at the entrance of the vestibule.   I add a few notes on the Aramaic, wishing that I had the leisure just now to carry them farther, since the whole document is to me one of extraordinary interest.

Line 1.—Unfortunately the paleographic evidence does not enable us to date the inscription with certainty.   Littmann (p. 23) leaves open the choice between the tenth year of Artaxerxes I (455) and that of Artaxerxes II (394), and expresses no opinion as to the preponderance of evidence.   Cook (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVIII [1917], 81 f.), whose judgment carries weight, thinks only of the two later kings of this name, thus making the date either 394 or 349.   He argues from the forms of ב and ה, which seem to him to point to the neighborhood of 400 B.C., and from the fact that one of the Lydian inscriptions published here by Littmann (p. 55) and closely resembling the others is dated in the fifth year of Alexander. But the argument from the characters named seems to me hardly permissible.   These very forms of ב and ה are to be seen in Mesopotamian documents dating from the end of the Assyrian period down to the early part of the Achaemenian rule, as may be seen in Stevenson's *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts* and Clay's "Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons," published in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, I. See Stevenson's Nos. 36 and 38 (reign of Darius I), and especially Clay's Nos. 22 and 29 (first and fifth years of Darius II); 5–13 (reign of Artaxerxes I), with admirable facsimile drawings.   As for the date in the reign of Alexander, it must be remembered how stereotyped and persistent are the formulae of mortuary inscriptions; cf. e.g., the Tabnît inscription with the Palmyrene epitaph (600 years later!) published in Clermont-Ganneau, *Études*, I, 121; Cooke, pp. 310 f.   An alphabet like the Lydian could easily remain unchanged for many centuries, as might be shown by numerous parallels. My own first impression of the date of this Aramaic document from

Sardis, obtained solely from the paleography and made stronger by subsequent study, is that it belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes I, Longimanus. For the principal grounds on which this conclusion is based I would refer to my article, "An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia, in the Museum of Yale University" (*JAOS*, XXXV [1917], 371). The characters most nearly resembling those of the Sardis monument are to be found in the Memphis stele (*CIS*, II, 122), dated in the reign of Xerxes, 482 B.C. (so Cook also remarks), the Yale inscription from Cilicia, just mentioned, the Assuan stele of 458 B.C. (seventh year of Artaxerxes I; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, I, No. 438),[1] the Abydos lion, the Limyra bilingual, and, in less degree, the other inscriptions named in my article, previously mentioned. I therefore believe that the Sardis monument dates from the year 455.

Line 2.—Is it quite true that *no* attempt is made in this inscription to distinguish ד from ר? Littmann pronounces the two letters "absolutely alike" (p. 26), and Cook says that they are "indistinguishable" (p. 82, top). It is quite true that under ordinary circumstances they are the same character, absolutely; but I think it can be shown that *wherever they are in juxtaposition* they are distinguished. This is done in three ways: (1) widening the head of the ד; (2) giving its shaft a downward slant toward the left; (3) making it shorter than the ר, in the time-honored manner. Methods (1) and (2) are both employed, unmistakably, in דרחת in line 2 and יבדרונה in line 8; and apparently both in ספרד in line 3 (where the slant of the shaft, combined with the fact that the sequence פרב had just preceded, was probably what caused the absent-minded artist to finish the letter as ב). In בכרד, line 2, method (1) only is used; in לדרחתא, line 5, only method (3). This is certainly not accidental. I have elsewhere (*JAOS*, XXXV, 373,

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[1] The editors of the *Répertoire* (p. 335) suppose that the simplified forms of ז and ר found on this monument had not appeared in Mesopotamia at this early date. But they are found there at least a century and a half earlier; see for example Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, No. 23 (Assyrian period), cf. No. 7; also Nos. 36–39 (Darius I), and Clay's Nos. 2 ff. (Artaxerxes I). The fact is, these simplified forms appeared for a considerable time sporadically, interchanged with the older forms. After the beginning of the fourth century—judging from the meager evidence which we have—the simpler forms became universal in the Aramaic script. The boundary stone from Cilicia, published by Montgomery (*JAOS*, XXVIII, 164 ff.), shows an approximation to them. The inscriptions from Cappadocia mentioned above I should date, on the paleographic evidence, in the fourth century B.C. (Lidzbarski, *Ephem.* III, 66, decides for the second century, but with hesitation.)

n. 3) called attention to the way in which the Cilician coinage of the early fourth century, in the several types of coins containing the name תרדבו Datames, makes a clear distinction, but not always in the same manner, between the *juxtaposed* ר and ד (though no distinction whatever is made when they are not in juxtaposition). Here again there can be no question of accident.

סתונא is plainly the Persian *stūna*, neo-Persian سْتُون, neo-Syriac ܣܬܘܢܐ, "stele." It is naturally mentioned first, as the object on which this inscription stood. With the אסתודנה استودان *ustūdān*, "tomb," of the Limyra bilingual it has nothing to do. It is a little surprising that Cook should hesitate over the ת (instead of ט). In just this combination *st*, in borrowed words, the weaker dental frequently alternates with the emphatic. Compare סתתר in the Elephantine papyri, סתר on the Abydos lion-weight, and Syriac ܐܣܬܝܪܐ, for στατήρ; קסת for ξέστης (Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*); אסתרתגא for στρατηγός; אסתסא for στάσις; ܐܓܪܘܣܛܝܣ for ἄγρωστις, and many others; also such words as פסנתרין for ψαλτήριον (Dan. 3:5, 10, 15).

The word at the end of the line can hardly be anything else than the familiar Persian *diraḫt*, "tree, pillar." There is not room for another letter after it, certainly not for an א; it is probably in the construct relation with the word אתרתא at the beginning of the next line.[1] The latter I have supposed to be the Aramaic form of the old Persian *ātar*, *āthr-*, middle Persian *ātur*, "fire." The word would have been likely to receive the feminine ending for two reasons: fire is feminine in Aramaic, and it would be necessary to distinguish the word from the very common אתר, "place." By "fire-pillar" I suppose to have been meant a round stele bearing a vessel with the sacred fire, which was kept burning at the entrance to the precinct. Strabo tells how the Persian religious practices had spread through Asia Minor, mentioning particularly Armenia and Cappadocia (xi. 8. 4; 14. 16; xv. 3. 5).[2] There is no need to supply the

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[1] Did Littmann think of "couches" because of the אברצתא mentioned in the Nerab Inscription I?

[2] If the character + could be regarded as corresponding to *th, θ*, we might suppose the Persian word to be preserved also in the Lydian, in *lathr-* (the photograph looks like *rathr-*) in line 2 and *lathir-* (Littmann takes no account of the *i*) in line 5. The identification of the character as *h* seems to rest entirely on Buckler's brilliant; but somewhat doubtful, discovery of Ζεὺς Ὑδηνός in the Lydian (see p. 13).

conjunction ו before the word דרחת; the manner of enumerating here is quite regular.

Line 3.—On the word אתירתא see above, p. 193.

Instead of פרבר Littmann reads everywhere פרבד, following Andreas. But it is quite impossible to separate the פַּרְבָר of I Chron. 26:18 from the פַּרְוָר of II Kings 23:11; and the combination of the two with the later Hebrew-Aramaic פַּרְוָור and the Persian پَروار *parvār*, all with the same meaning, is much too strong to be set aside by Andreas' suggestion. With the absence of a determinative ending for this Persian loan-word, both here and in line 5, compare פתכר זנה in the Yale inscription from Cilicia, dating from about this same time.

The construction at the end of the line is perfectly regular and classical. The suffix in פרברה is proleptic, the noun אחר is in apposition with the suffix, and in the construct state with the זי which follows. Concerning this variety of apposition see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 88; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gramm.*, § 131, n; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gramm.*, p. 321. The use of the construct before the relative (or rather, *demonstrative*) זי is rare, but logical and permissible. In Hebrew the corresponding construction is common; cf. not only the examples in Gesen.-Kautzsch § 130, c, but also such cases as Isa. 43:21, עַם זוּ יָצַרְתִּי לִי, "*the* people whom I formed for myself." In Assyrian it is possible to say *tēm ša Arabi*, "the tidings concerning the Arabs" (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gramm.*[2], § 98, a). Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, I, 68), observing this very construction (אנתת זי ביל, "the wife of Bēl") in one of the Aramaic texts from Cappadocia, calls it a "solecism." The stricture is not justified, however; the usage is probably a survival from an older stage of the language.

As for the use of אחר as a collective noun meaning "descendants, posterity," cf. the Nabatean inscriptions, *CIS*, II, 197, 198, 201, 206, 208, 209, 221, in all of which the term is used precisely as it is here, to designate the descendants of a man *who have property rights in his sepulcher.*

Line 4.—In the name written over the line I should not have ventured to read י without the information given by Littmann. This name was presumably added later—perhaps much later.

Cook (p. 81) speaks of the final א as "pointing downwards," but is he not thinking of the *Phoenician* form of the letter?

If I am not mistaken, we have a zeugma in lines 4–6, the verb אחד (beginning of line 6) being construed at first with על, in speaking of "taking forcible possession of" the inscribed monument and the tomb-complex, and then with ל (introducing the direct object) in line 5, where is mentioned the one thing which could be "*taken away*" and used elsewhere. For the use of על, cf. the Syr.-Hex. אֲחִידֵי עַל אַרְעָא rendering οἱ κραταιοὶ τῆς γῆς in Ps. 46:10; also Arabic قبض على , ضبط على , etc., and in Hebrew על הֶחֱזִיק in Job 18:9.

Line 5.—The use of the preposition ל with the word דרהתא, although it had *not* been used with the מערתא just preceding, certainly indicates such a zeugma as I have supposed.

לקבל זי (פרבר זנה) is another example of the archaistic construction which I have described in the note on the end of line 3. The noun קבל was originally construct with the demonstrative זי: "at the front of this (namely)," etc. On פרבר without the determinative ending see above, on line 3.

Line 6.—זנה is to be connected with פרבר, not with מערתא.

I read the verb אחד both at the beginning and at the end of the line. In the latter case notice the shaft of the final letter, comparing it with the ד in דרהת, line 2, and יבדרונה, line 8. This form of the conditional sentence, perfect tense in both protasis and apodosis, is the typical form in all the Semitic languages, though very frequently varied. In the inscriptions known to us the imperfect tense is regularly used in the passages corresponding to this, where a curse is invoked on the one who violates the tomb. We may perhaps see a stylistic reason for preferring the perfect here; since the sentence is rhetorically improved by the use of the same word and form in both members, and the lack of concord in gender (אהד ארתבזו) is most frequent when the simple ground-form of the verb, the perf. third sing. masc., is used.[1] As for the style of the inscription in general, it makes upon me the impression of a very respectable literary art.

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[1] The tendency to use this ground-form, and the masculine in general instead of the feminine, is especially characteristic of Aramaic: "dahin geht eben der Zug der aram. Dialekte seit alter Zeit" (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 411); but cf. also the Hebrew usage, Ges.-Kautzsch, § 145, *o*.

The meaning of the verb יפרך is apparently "injure, damage, do violence to." It has not been found hitherto in just this signification in Aramaic, the nearest approach to it being the too definite "break in pieces" (see Levy, *s.v.*, pa‘el, and the corresponding Syriac usage). But in Assyrian we find it used repeatedly in exactly the manner of our inscription, in invoking curses on those who *damage* inscriptions, monuments, and the like. For example: I R. 27, No. 2, 64–66, "Whoever *does damage to* (*ipariku*) these inscriptions of mine, so that they cannot be seen and read," etc.; *KB*, I, 46 (Tiglath-Pileser I, Col. viii, 70–73), "Whoever in any way *injures* (*ušapraku*) this memorial slab of mine," etc. This is our verb, beyond all question. Hebrew פֶּרֶך, Assyrian *pariktu*, "violence, force unlawfully used," should also be compared. The "slight and superficial knowledge" of Aramaic which Littmann (p. 29) would attribute to the author of this inscription is really our own; we know extremely little of the vocabulary of the language in its older history, and our acquaintance with its grammar and stylistic usage is very defective.

Line 7.—אפססיו is not, as Littmann supposes, an adjective agreeing (or rather, disagreeing) with ארתמו. This satisfies neither form nor construction. It is the masculine plural of the gentilic adjective with the determinative ending, to be vocalized (so far as we are able to judge) אפסֶסָיֵ, "the Ephesians." This was ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, just as in Acts 19:28, 34 (observe the absence of the article before the adjective, showing that the phrase was fixed in use). With the orthography compare the alternative endings ־ָאֵי and ־ָאֵא in the corresponding form in Bibl. Aramaic, and the writing בּוֹרֵי (so Baer) in Ezr. 6:21 and 2 Chron. 32:13.

The noun תרבץ is especially familiar from the Assyrian *tarbaṣu*, "court, yard, garden," etc., but is also well known in Jewish Aramaic. This collocation, "his dwelling-place, his house, his property," was probably a phrase in common use.

Line 8.—The words טין ומין (also a fixed phrase) suggest at once the similarly employed phrase להם ומין, "bread and water," in the inscription Cooke, No. 145.

I cannot believe that מנדעמתא, "anything," is *plural* number. In so regarding it Littmann is following the editors of the Elephantine

papyri (Bagoas Letter I, l. 12; II, l. 11; Strassburg Papyrus C, l. 13), but the singular number seems to me in all these cases far more probable. It is a very natural way of making a more distinctly substantive form out of the indefinite *manda⸴am*, and the use with a pronominal suffix is then a matter of course.[1]

The word יבדרונה is not, I think, correctly understood either by Littman or by Cook. The subject of the verb is the *indefinite plural*, which is used so extensively in Aramaic as a substitute for the passive voice. Thus, e.g., Dan. 4:13, "They shall change his understanding [= his understanding shall be changed] from that of a man to that of a beast"; vs. 22, "They shall wet thee [= thou shalt be wet] with the dew of heaven," etc. The suffixed pronoun, moreover, is not the direct object, but the indirect; the direct object is מנדעמיתה . This wider use of the suffix to include what we should call the dative case, as well as other modifying relations, is found in all the Semitic languages, but especially in Assyrian, Ethiopic, and Aramaic. Dan. 5:6, "Then the King's countenance was changed [literally, it changed *for him*, שְׁנוֹהִי]"—a good parallel to the Sardis passage. Compare in Syriac ܗܘܐ ܠܗ , "It happened *to them*," Luke 13:2 (both Lew. and Peš.).[2] Nerab Inscription II, 3, "He gave me [lit., *put for me*, שׂמני] a good name." In Hebrew, Zech. 7:5, הַצוֹם צַבְתָּנִי אָנִי , "Did you fast *for me?*";[3] Isa. 65:5, "I am taboo *for you*," קְדַשְׁתִּיךָ; Job 31:18, גְּדֵלַנִי כְאָב , "He grew up *for me* as for a father"; Jer. 31:3, "I extended *for thee* (מְשַׁכְתִּיךָ) my favor"—another close parallel to the phrase in our inscription. In Babylonian Assyrian a good many verbs not originally doubly transitive have come to be frequently or regularly construed with pronominal suffixes in this way; so that one says, e.g., "I took away *from him* (ekimšu) his

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[1] In the use of the *masculine* singular verb הוה with this word in the Bagoas Letter I, 12, I can see nothing surprising. This is a characteristic Aramaic usage (see the note above, l. 6, on אחד ארתמו), especially when the verb is הוה .

[2] Similarly in Persian we often find such constructions as Shâhn. vii. 57, یکی دایه بودش , "He had a nurse [lit., a nurse *was* (to) *him*]."

[3] Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, *in loc.*, says: "Es lässt sich nicht bezweifeln, dass צמתני bedeuten soll צמתם לי; aber was ist das für ein Hebräisch!" In view of all the excellent parallels we might well be content to say that it is very good Hebrew. The prophet should be permitted to write his own language, especially as our knowledge of it and its possibilities is so defective. Similarly, some of our commentators have wished to "emend" Dan. 5:6, Isa. 65:5, and Job 31:18, mentioned above.

chariots"; "A present he received *from them (imḫurušunuti)*"; "½ Mina of silver he shall weigh out *for her (išaḳalši),*" Ḥamm. Code 26, 10. Such usage develops naturally in all languages, being carried farther in some than in others. It was doubtless much more frequent in the North Semitic dialects, especially in the ordinary speech of the people, than our textbooks would lead us to believe.

If וירתה is the correct reading, the noun ירת is certainly collective, "heirs," and there could be no objection to this. We should perhaps rather expect a word meaning "posterity" or "family," to be sure. Before reading Littmann's notes I had read the word ויפתה, and even now I can see in the photograph nothing but פ as the middle letter. But as Littmann, working with the monument itself before him, saw only ר, I am doubtless mistaken. The reading with פ suggested nothing probable, either Semitic or Persian, though I had thought of several remote possibilities. One might think, for instance, of an Aramaic counterpart to Assyrian *aptu, apāti,* "house, people, family" (?), for which the root ופה (Aram. יפה) has been suggested.

Critical Notes

BALMUNAMGE, THE SLAVE DEALER

In the summer of 1917, Mr. William T. Grant, Jr., of Pelham Manor, New York, purchased of M. Gejou, Paris, twenty-four tablets written in Babylonian cuneiform, of four distinct periods and of varying character. There are in the lot a few contracts of the classical period of Babylon and Larsa. One of these, G ᶜ17. No. 17, is evidently from the archive of Bal. Mu. Nam. Ge of Larsa, which the writer found indicated in his assignments from the Yale Babylonian Collection, and on which he read a paper at the Semitic Seminar in New Haven, March 24, 1916, and at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Washington, D.C., April 25, 1916.

Dr. H. F. Lutz, who received his Yale assignments at the same time as the writer, has published a volume of letters in which a few instances appear of the name *BalMuNamĝe*, variously syllabled; e.g., 13:2; 77:4; *Bal-me-nam-ĝi* 96:1.[1]

It is entirely possible that the syllables referred to belong to more than one man. In fact Dr. E. M. Grice, who has had access to abundant material and who is expert in the dates of the Larsa period, informed me in March, 1917, that the name is found on tablets ranging from the time of Sin-idinnam to Ḫammurabi. The writer found the name on thirty-four of the tablets allotted to him in New Haven. This lot of thirty-four was the archive referred to in the Oriental Society paper, "A New Archive from Old Larsa."

While certain of the documents from the archive of BalMuNamĝe treat of real estate dealings, some of them large, and one refers to grain, more than a score of them refer to slaves, and the majority of these have to do with a new type or formulation of slave business.[2]

There must be a good many of these Senkereh tablets scattered about the world. The one published herewith, G ᶜ17. 17, is of the latest group known to the writer, and it seems appropriate to him to publish it in advance of his larger work on Larsa documents.

In an article in the *Smith* (College) *Alumnae Quarterly*, July, 1916, there is a description of the business interests of Balmunamĝe. For the greater part he bought and sold slaves and occasionally let them out to people who needed their services. Whether he received compensation for their work does not appear in the documents, which are mainly concerned with securing Balmunamĝe against loss. One can readily imagine that the owner of a

[1] Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa, New Haven, 1917.

[2] See article in *AJSL*, XXXIII (1917), 200.

G. ᶜ17. 17 (CASE)

G. c17. 17
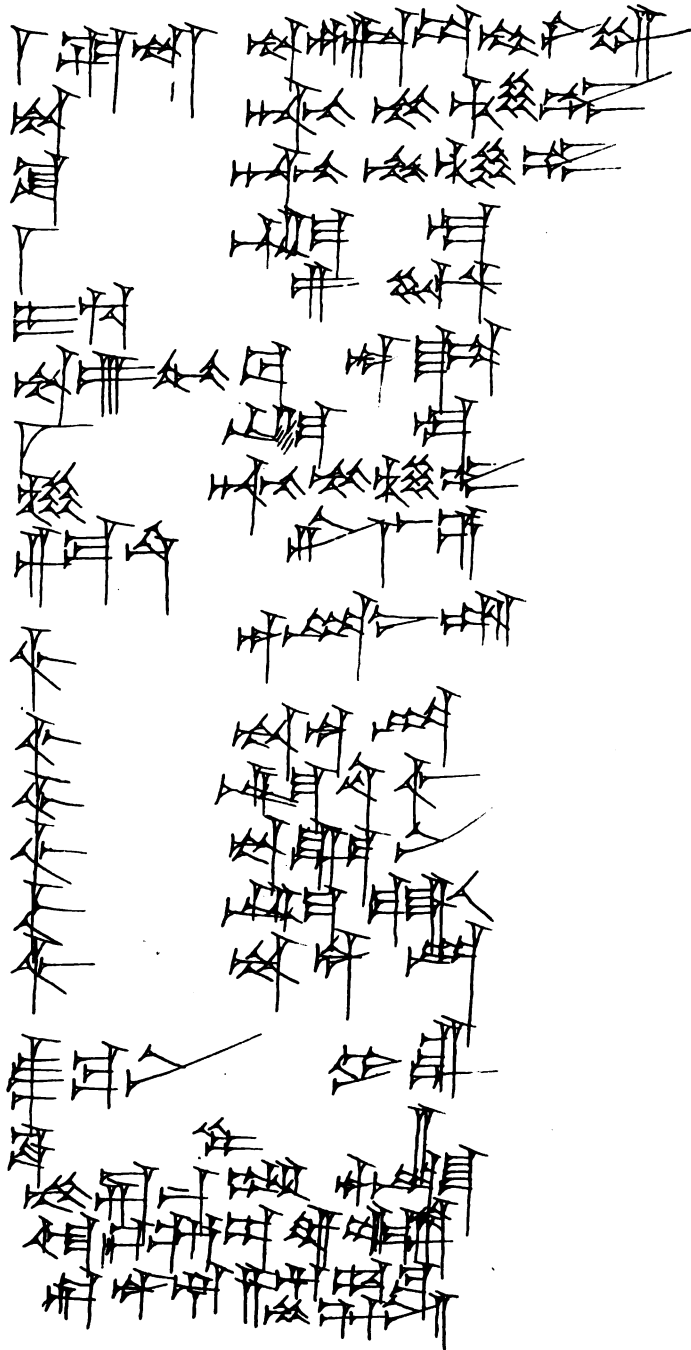
large number of slaves might be glad to let them out to responsible fellow-townsmen who would board them and be sponsors for their welfare on terms which practically insured them at a higher valuation than the one at which the owner could sell them at the moment. Thus it was stipulated in the bond—"A by name is the slave of B. From B the owner C has taken. If the slave runs away or perishes, enters the palace, sanctuary, women's apartment, or prefecture, or if a lion eat him, or an enemy snatch him away, C will pay a stated amount [which is apparently the full value of the slave]." Sometimes real estate was pledged in case of delinquency. Figulla 73.[1]

Of rarest occurrence among these tablets is one in pure Sumerian (except the personal names), next those which are in Semitic throughout, while most of the documents are found in different blendings of the two languages.

The core of the legal agreement is that in the event of certain misadventures to the owner's slave property the owner will be reimbursed. The variety of phrases employed to safeguard the owner from economic loss, the stability of the phrases, even though translated from Sumerian into Semitic Babylonian, and the prolixity of the scribe who wrote them indicate the legal forms of a lost code. Certain of the casualties mentioned may be likened to the phrases in modern insurance documents which refer to "the acts of God," piracy, and such external accidents to property.

We know now of two merchants in Larsa who did this kind of business, the other being Ubar-Šamaš, whose archive was indicated by Figulla.[2]

Most of the phrases employed in the documents are so well known to scholars that no comment is needed here, but a few of them have given rise to question. Such question would not include *ĝa-a* and *ú-gu-ba-an-dé*. These two are possessed of interchangeable meanings, which unite in the Semitic *in-na-ab-bi-it*, the preterite of the *nifal* of *abâtu* (iv. i) = "to go to ruin, disappear, flee," or, as Professor Haupt suggests, "take Scotch leave."

For *ĝa-a* consult Brünnow, 11856, 7, and Meissner's *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme* (9106). For *şu-ḫa-a* or *zu-ḫa-a*, see Brünnow, 160. *Ú-gu-ba-an-dé* is simply a variant of *U-ĝù-ba-an-dé*, etc. Cf. Delitzsch, *Sumerische Glossar*, pp. 42–43 and 141, where we find

ú-ĝù-ba-an-dé	=	ittabit
ú-ĝù-dé	=	ḫalâḳu
Ugu-dé	=	na'butum

See Figulla's copies 63, 72, 84. The syllable *gu* is Barton's No. 502.[3]

Ki . . . . *lugal-a-ni-ir* = "from his owner" (Figulla 84:4, etc.). The final syllable *-ir* seems to be added under the influence of the preposition *Ki* = *itti* = from. This is new to us and shows how in the colloquial phrasing of the contract tablets the old expressions change. *Lugal-a-ni-ir* would mean

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[1] *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der König. Museen zu Berlin*, Heft XIII.

[2] *VAS*, Heft XIII (Leipzig, 1914), p. iii.

[3] *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*.

to a reader of the monumental inscriptions "to or for his king," as its counterpart *nin-a-ni-ir* (Figulla 72:4) would mean "to or for his queen," but no such meanings are to be thought of in the context of our documents, which deal with transactions in real estate and slaves. As in the business talk of any people, the royal phrases come to mean simple ownership, as in our words "landlord" and "landlady."

The Sumerian clause *šu-ni-a(-ni) šu-ba-an-ti*(-*meš* or *eš*) meaning "he has taken his hand" (or, "they have," etc.) occurs in most of the documents to signify the transfer of responsibility for the slave. Very rarely, as in the tablet given in facsimile here, the verbal form *i-ḫu-ú-uz* (case, *i-ḫu-uz*) (*aḫâzu*="to take") is substituted for the Sumerian clause given above. In one known instance the order of thought and construction is inverted, and it is said simply that B has handed over a slave to C (*ba-an-sum-mu-uš*). These rare cases take the color out of the customary phrase.

An ambiguity must be confessed in the personal possessive pronoun *-ni* suffixed to *šu = ḳâtum* = "hand," whether the hand is that of the slave, the owner of the slave, or, reflexively, the hand of the man himself, i.e., of the man who is the subject of the verb *šu-ba-an-ti*. Against the first supposition might be cited Figulla 73 and 84, in which the name of the slave is inserted between *šu-ni-a* and *šu-ba-an-ti*.

We find instances of *šu = ḳâtum* in contexts where there is the sense or the reality of a pledge or a guaranty, as in Figulla 30:1 and 72:14. See also Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. IV, "Altbabylonische Urkunden aus Sippara," 19:13 (Sipp 267), translated in Kohler und Ungnad, *Hammurabis Gesetz*, III, No. 551; also Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, No. 159, where *šu-ni-a* is rendered "sein Bürge." Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbab. Privatrecht*, 57:18 (Schorr, *op. cit.*, 157), gives a case of the Semitic equivalent, translated also "sein Bürge." The expression is one of obligation or guaranty in receiving the custody of the slave property, and that there is something analogous to bonded liability seems clear.

For the second compound of the clause, *šu-ba-an-ti*, we have the ordinary references for *ti*, in Brünnow, 1701, 1700, *maḫâru* and *laḳû* (but in contracts *liḳû*). The meaning is plain, but it is to be noted that when the Larsa scribes substituted a Semitic verb for this entire clause it was neither of the two given by Brünnow, but *aḫâzu*. A syllabary of the *koinê* would include *aḫâzu* as a Semitic parallel of *ti*.

As to the new date formula of G ᶜ17. 17, no published material tells to which of the rulers of Larsa it belongs.

G. ᶜ17. 17

TRANSLITERATION

1 *sag wardam* ᵐ·*warad* ⁱˡᵘ*kab-ta mu-ni-im* 2 *warad bal-mu-nam-ǵe* 3 *itti bal-mu-nam-ǵe* 4 ᵐ· ⁱˡᵘ*sin-eriš* 5 *i-ḫu-ú-uz* 6 *wardum ú-gu-ba-an-dé* 7 ᵐ· ⁱˡᵘ*sin-eriš* 8 *nam bal-mu-nam-ǵe* 9 ½ *ma-na ni-lal-é*

10 *maḫar* ^{ilu}*nannar-ni-maḫ* 11 *maḫar   warad-* ^{ilu}*nannar* 12 *maḫar*
^{ilu}*sin-na-ši* 13 *maḫar ir-ra-ba-ni* 14 *maḫar* ^{ilu}*sin-ma-gir* 15 *maḫar*
warad ^{ilu}*nannar*

<div align="center">TRANSLATION</div>

1 One slave, warad-kabta, by name 2 the slave of BalMuNamge
3 From BalMuNamg̣e 4 Sin-eriš 5 has taken 6 [Should] the slave
run away 7 Sin-eriš 8 unto BalMuNamg̣e 9 one third of a mana
[of silver] will pay 10 in the presence of Nannar-NI.MAG̣, etc.

It is strange to see two witnesses of the same name, as in lines 11 and 15,
with no effort to distinguish one from the other.

The use of *nam* in line 8 on the tablet, this line not appearing on the case,
is the only instance in tablets of this class.   But this use of *nam* (Barton, 85.)
is what we should expect from Col. IV, line 17, of the Yale law tablet.[1]

<div align="right">ELIHU GRANT</div>

HAVERFORD COLLEGE
   HAVERFORD, PA.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF A PORTRAIT STATUE OF A
SEMITIC BABYLONIAN KING

On page 256 of his *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab,* Dr. E. J. Banks has
presented the picture of the head of a statue bearing a Semitic face, found at
Bismya.   The head is of pure white alabaster, and measured ten centi-
meters from its forehead to the point of the beard.   The eyeballs were of
ivory fastened in with bitumen.   The pupils were missing, but, as the eyes
of alabaster animals discovered in the ruins were of lapis lazuli, Dr. Banks
conjectures that the lost pupils of these eyes were of the same blue
stone.   As the face is bearded and the nose Semitic, Dr. Banks rightly
remarked (p. 257), "Undoubtedly the head is Semitic."   He adds that it is
also undoubtedly of the age of Sargon, or of those Semitic conquerors who
overran the country and took the city.   The head was found in the temple
of Emakh at Adab, in which the statue of the earlier Sumerian king, Lugal-
daudu, had been set up.

When Dr. Banks wrote his book (1912) he still identified Shargalisharri
with Sargon.   This should be borne in mind in reading the following sen-
tences on page 341 of Dr. Bank's book: "Sargon, perhaps the first of the
Semitic rulers, seems to have been the first to use the square brick, and it
was of immense size, measuring forty-six centimeters square and nine in
thickness, and so heavy was it that a single one was a sufficient burden for a
man.   Sargon seems also to have been the first Babylonian king to use the
brick stamp with his name and titles, but at Bismya none of his bricks were
inscribed.   Naram-Sin, his son, employed a square brick of smaller size, and

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[1] *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection,* No. 28.

though three of his brick stamps were found at Bismya, no bricks bearing their impression were discovered."

Pere Scheil and Dr. King[1] had before 1912 already proved that Sargon and Shargalisharri were not identical—a conclusion that has been amply confirmed since by inscriptions in the University Museum in Philadelphia, published by Dr. Poebel in 1914.[2] We now have historic inscriptions from both Sargon and Shargalisharri, and a dynastic tablet tells us that Shargalisharri was a son (possibly grandson) of Naram-Sin, and not his father. All that Dr. Banks says about Sargon applies in reality to Shargalisharri, whom we now know to have been Naram-Sin's immediate successor. Shargalisharri constructed buildings in connection with the temple at Adab, but none of Naram-Sin's bricks were found there, although the excavation brought to light three of his brick stamps, and near a little square tomb at the temple a bit of gold foil was found bearing the name of Naram-Sin.[3] Banks suggests the possibility that Naram-Sin may have been buried there.

So far as the evidence goes, it does not appear that Naram-Sin repaired the temple, though it would seem that he planned to do so, but it does seem that Shargalisharri did. This fact raises in one's mind the question, May not the little alabaster head be a portrait of Shargalisharri? It cannot be a portrait of Naram-Sin, for we have two of those, one on the stele commemorating the war in Magan,[4] and the other from a rock at Pir Russein near Diarbekr,[5] and neither one of them resembles this. The portrait cannot be that of Manishtusu, an earlier king of Kish and Agade, for it is quite unlike the portrait of him discovered at Susa.[6] One thinks of the possibility of its being a portrait of Sargon, the founder of the dynasty, or of Rimush, but as yet nothing has been found either in the inscriptions or in the archaeological remains to connect these kings with Adab. True, Sargon claims to have conquered fifty *Patesis*, and the *Patesi* of Adab was probably among them, but in the known inscriptions of Sargon, Rimush, and Manishtusu, Adab is not mentioned. Naram-Sin and Shargalisharri are archaeologically connected with Adab as already shown, therefore there are good grounds for the conjecture that the head represents Shargalisharri.

One bit of evidence adduced by Banks would, if valid, militate against our conjectured identification. He says (p. 257): "A fragment of a bluestone vase with parts of three lines of an inscription, found in the same chamber, may come from the same age and give us a clew to its date." The fragment of inscription is then reproduced. The first line of it is

[1] Cf. L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad* (London, 1910), pp. 221 f.

[2] *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (Philadelphia, 1914), No. 3, and *Historical Texts* (Philadelphia, 1914), p. 80.

[3] Banks, *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab*, p. 145.

[4] De Morgan, *Delegation en Perse*, II, p. 52, and King, *op. cit., frontispiece*.

[5] King, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[6] De Morgan, *op. cit.*, X, Pl. I, and King, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

fragmentary; only a bit of the sign *lugal* can be discerned. The second line contains *lugal ki-en-gi^{ki}* and the last line *ur-^daššir-[gi]*. Of these signs *lugal* is paleographically significant. It is not in the form of the writing of the dynasty of Agade.[1] It resembles more closely the form of the sign in the lapidary inscriptions of the kings of Ur and in those of Hammurapi, though not exactly like either. The inscription is therefore certainly later than the dynasty of Agade and Kish. It cannot represent the head of one of the kings of Ur, however, for they were Sumerian and this is Semitic. The possibility remains that it may be a portrait of Hammurapi, who, in the introduction to his Code, calls himself the benefactor of Emakh. This possibility is, however, negatived by a comparison of the portrait of Hammurapi inscribed on the stele discovered at Susa, which bears the record of his code. Hammurapi there appears with a beard which reaches down to his waist. The length of the beard on the alabaster head we are discussing is much more in accord with the beards on the portraits of Manish-tusu and Naram-Sin. Such little evidence as there is indicates that in the time of the dynasty of Agade and Kish it was the fashion in royal circles to wear the beards shorter than in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. We conclude then that the bit of inscribed vase discovered by Banks is from a different period from the alabaster head, and suggest as a probable conjecture that the head is a portrait of Shargalisharri.

<div style="text-align: right">GEORGE A. BARTON</div>

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BRYN MAWR, PA.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES, CONTRIBUTION TO THE ASSYRIAN DICTIONARY

1. *papaḫu*, "Chamber," a Sumerian Loan-Word: In the drawing of the ground plan of a temple, published by F. Thureau-Dangin (*Rev. d'Assy.*, IV, 23), one of the rooms bears the following inscription. "*pa-paǵ* one *gi* wide and one *gardu* long." It connects with a room designated as *kisallu*, "court." A similar plan, published by L. W. King (*Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, No. 107), also designates one of the side rooms as a *pa-paǵ*. This recalls the passage of Sennacherib, *CT*, 26, 23, 30, the *barakku ša ina kirib PA-PAḤ* pl. (*papaḫāti*). The *parakku* of the temple is the chief chapel, or holy of holies, and is therefore surrounded by chambers, *papaḫu*, a loan-word from *pa-paǵ*. The word occurs in a Djokha tablet. Contenau, *Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur*, No. 11, *sá-dúg ^d·Šara-šú še é pa-paǵ*, "For the fixed income of the god Shara, grain of the temple of the chamber."

2. *esigu*, "Overflowing Canal": The lexicons enter a word *esigu*, of unknown meaning, which, according to *VR*, 16a, 10, is a loan-word from *a-si-ga* and synonym of *egû*, "flood." Also Haupt (*ASKT*, 98, 34), has *e-de-a*, "flood," and *a-si-ga* as synonyms. The form from which *esigu* was

borrowed is *e-si-ga*, which in *RA*, 14, 5, 15, is explained by *iku išpuk*, "the canal overflowed." A storehouse in Telloh has the name *é a-si-ga* (*CT*, I, III, 20A, 2). Therefore *esigu=iku išpuk*, "overflowing canal." *sig* in this compound is *sig = malû*, "be full." The word means literally "full waters," and *e* is a variant of *a*, not to be read *eg* as I interpreted in *RA, loc. cit.*

3. *egēru*, "to Surround, Bind, Place a Girdle Around": This Assyrian verb cognate of עגר is established by Poebel, *PBS*,[1] V, 102, II, 4, where *NIGIN* (*ni min*) is explained by *lawûm(=lamû), zaḫārum(=saḫārum), taṭārum, egēru, saḫāru, kalû.* Also Berlin Ass. 3024, I, 29, *nigin = egīru* in a similar list.[2] Holma (*ZA*, 25, 381) had already discovered the etymology of the root, and Fossey (*Babyloniaca*, V, 213) arrived at the same conclusion independently for the I² perm. *itguru*. Several passages which contain this root have been misunderstood. The Sumerian root *ḡilim*, Br. 1326, "to turn," has developed in two directions: (*a*) "to turn round, inclose, bar"; (*b*) "to overturn, destroy." Hence *ḡilim = parāku*, "lock up," *sikuru*, "shutting up," and *ḫulluḳu*, "to overturn, destroy." Here belongs the adjective *itguru*, "surrounding, inclosing," *ḡarsag ḡilim-ḡilim-ma = šadû itguruti*, "the insurmountable mountains," Haupt, *ASKT*, 98, 36, *an ḡilim-ḡilim = šamê itgurûtum*, "the inclosing heavens," *SBP*, 86, 45. More important, however, are the IV² and IV³ forms which have been misunderstood. The Sumerian verb was reduced to *ḡili* and then strengthened by the root *eg*, "to do." Hence we have *ni-ḡil-li-eg-gi-eš = ittangiri*, "[the gods] are bound," *ASKT*, 127, 15, *ni-ḡil-li-eg-ge-eš = itteningili*, "[the gods] are bound," *SPB*, 124, 11. *itguru*, the adjective meaning "bound, encircled, and encircling," then came to mean "foreboding, insurmountable." The word was misunderstood by Streck, *Asurbanipal*, II, 256, 16, where read *igiarê itgurûti*, "the unsolved visions" (?), "the mysterious, hidden visions" (?). Streck's derivation in his vocabulary from *agāru*, "think, plan," is most unlikely. *ad-gur*, p. 254, 15, does not exist. The text has most likely *AD-ḪAL = pirišti.*

4. *kaṣāṣu*, "Press, Harass, Be Harassed, Be Angry": The existence of a verb *kaṣāṣu*, wholly different in origin and meaning from *ḳaṣāṣu*, "cut off" (Arabic *ḳaṣṣa*) and "grind, smash" (Arabic *ḳadda*),[3] is established by the passage in *CT*, 16, 25, 48, a description of a demon *ša pani izzu melammu ki-iṣ-ṣu*,[4] "of angry visage, of terrible glamor." The Sumerian equivalent is *zag-kešda* in this passage. The word also means "excitement, anger" in Harper, *Letters*, 462, Rev. 22, *libbi ša bêl šarrāni bêli-ia ina libbi lû ki-iṣ-ṣu*, "The heart of the lord of kings, my lord, verily is aroused because of it." This is the first example of the verb from which the compound *ki-iṣ libbi*, "anger,

rage," is derived. Figulla (*Der Briefwechsel Bêlibni's*, p. 41) falsely transcribed *ḳi-iṣ-ṣu* and followed the lexicons in connecting *kiṣ libbi* with *ḳaṣāṣu*, "cut and grind." There is no evidence for any other reading than *ki-iṣ libbi*, Sumerian *šag-dib* and *lipeš-gig*, "troubled or sick heart," see Delitzsch, *AW*, 590. The combination *GAZ libbi*, which influenced Delitszch to read *ḳis libbi*, is to be rendered *ḥip libbi;* this removes the only evidence for the old etymology.

The Semitic root of *kiṣṣu*, "anger," is undoubtedly found in Arabic under three forms, كَضَ, كَظَ, and كَرَّ, all with the general sense "press, be compressed, afflict with pain." Hence Arabic كَصِيصٌ, "terror, trembling," and كُرَازٌ "spasm, tetanus." By metathesis Arabic has زَكَّ "afflict," زُكَّة "anger." Since the forms VI and VIII of *kaṣṣa* in the Arabic reflexive mean "to congregate," the Assyrian *kiṣṣu*, "home, abode, place where the family gathers," is explained. Arabic has no meaning from which the adjective *kissu*, "fearful, awful" can be derived. This ramification of the root appears only in Assyrian.

5. *kunnâ*, "Solicitously"; *kunnû*, "Solicitous": This adverb does not appear to have been entered in our lexicons. It occurs in *VR*, 44*b*, 38, in the n. pr. *d.Nin-urta sal-zid-dé-eš ken ag-gà-gà = Ninurta ša kun-na-a irammu*. "N. who loves solicitously." The Sumerian adverb *sal-zid-dé-eš* imposes the classification of *kunnâ* as an adverb. The same Sumerian adverb occurs in an unpublished text (*BM*, 78183, 26) *sal-zid-dé-eš d.Ur-d.Engur ga-an-i-idé*, "Solicitously Ur-Engur I will praise." In *kunnâ* we have the hardened accusative form of the adjective *kunnû*, "solicitous." This meaning is probably to be assigned to *kunnû* in preference to Delitzsch, *HW*, 338, "sorgsam bewahrt," and Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 405, "cared for." The earlier lexicographers probably regarded this adjective as based upon the permansive piel of *kanû*, and hence passive rather than active. Delitzsch (*Assyrische Grammatik*,[2] p. 260) apparently regards all nouns and adjectives of the form *ḳuttul* as connected with the permansive and infinitive of the piel. Even though all adjectives of this type be assigned to this source, it by no means follows that they are all *passive*, any more than that the corresponding forms of the verb are always *passive*. Note *ukkumu*, "cruel, seizing." If we assume a meaning "cared for" for *kunnû*, it would be impossible to explain the adverb *kunnâ*. Moreover, the passage IVR, 24*a*, 15, makes the meaning "solicitous, one who cares for," imperative, for here the Sumerian equivalent is reduplicated, always an indication of the active sense, *a-zur-zur-ri = marû kunnû*, "the solicitous son." Note in this connection *mu-nu-un-zur-zur-ri = ul ukanni*, "they care not for," *CT*, 17, 26, 42; *zûr-zûr-ri = uktan-nû*, "they shall show solicitude for." Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 4 Rev. 16.

6. *lakû*, "Growl, Howl," etc.: The *lamedh yodh* form of the verb *labābu* probably exists in Assyrian. Boissier, *Choix*, 32, 16: "If dogs in the wide street *i-lab-bu-u*;[1] K. 164, 5 in *BA*, II, 635, "Thrice upon the bed *ta-lab-bi-a* she shall scream." Here (?) Craig, *RT*, II, 16, 15, Gula *la-ba-at uzzat*, "the screaming, the raging."

STEPHEN LANGDON

THE UNIVERSITY
OXFORD, ENGLAND

THE ETYMOLOGY OF *Še'ôl*

In the current volume of *AJSL*, pp. 21–59, Maynard has given us a very useful transliteration and translation of religious texts from Aššur. Since he has been the first to publish his studies, the honors of priority are his— and also the perils. It is the explorer's right to make a few mistakes (cf. Meissner's remarks on Ebeling's interpretation, *ZDMG*, LXIX, 412); his successors should remember that "ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte."

One little slip, however, is rather portentous, as it reopens the question of a Sumerian origin for the word שְׁאוֹל, Hades. After Delitzsch's unlucky adventure with an assumed *šu'âlu*, our word has been handled somewhat gingerly by etymologists. Maynard now suggests that *Še'ôl* goes back to *šâl, which reminds him of the divine name Enzulla (Ebeling, No. 49, Col. II, l. 5). However, instead of *dEn-zu-ul-la*, we must naturally read *dEn-uru-ul-la*, "the Lord of the eternal[2] city," i.e., Hades, with the consort *dNin-uru-ul-la*. This deity is mentioned *CT*, XXIV, 1, 20, etc., among the "names" of Anu. The new passage proves that *En-uru-ul-la* is properly Nêrgal, a result which might readily have been predicted from the name. Here again we have the shift between father and son; Nêrgal is sometimes called "the offspring of Anu" (*ilitti Ani^m*).[3]

There is certainly no ground for the statement that שְׁאוֹל has a foreign appearance. Such a remark would be quite valid in the case of erratic forms like חַרְטֹם, "astrologer," and כִּישׁוֹר, "spindle," which Boissier has recently explained from the Sumerian, but is hardly true of שְׁאוֹל, a form like חֲמוֹר, "ass," for *himâr (Ar., حِمَار), חֲלוֹם, "dream," and אֱלוֹהַּ, "god" (*GK*²⁸,

[1] See Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 103, 16. Also Hunger (*MVAG* [1909], p. 218) has the correct interpretation.

[2] Why should Sum. *ul-la* in *ud-ul-la-šù*, "for ever," in the inscriptions of Entemena (*ca.* 2950 B.C.) be regarded as a Semitism, with Delitzsch (*SGl*, 47)? Its synonym, *dari*, of course, is an Akkadian loan-word, but it is not found at such an early date. The early loan-words, like *damḡar* and *damkar, ibila, ibira, tibira* (see my article *ablu-abâlu* in *ZA*), have concrete meanings. On the Semitic side we need not consider *ullû* as *necessarily* derived from the stem עלה "go up." The form is precisely what we should expect in a loan from a Sum. *ulla*. At all events the etymology of *En-uru-ul-la* is clear.

[3] Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, I, 471.

§ 84, n.). Moreover, *ši'ál-Še'ôl has an excellent Semitic etymology; Glaser's explanation, cited in *GB*, is substantially[1] correct, if we may judge from the Assyrian, where *ša'âlu* means not only "ask," but also "decide" (*šit'ulu; muštâlu* is "the decider").[2]   In the light of *tar = šitûlu^m* (*SGl*, 155), *li-tar = ša'âlu*, etc., Hebrew *Še'ôl* seems to belong to the same cycle of conceptions as the Babylonian *Du(l)-azag ki-nam-tar-tar-e-ne*, otherwise *Ubšugina*, the *parak šimâti*, or "chamber of fates."   We may perhaps, therefore, regard שְׁאוֹל as the equivalent of a *מִשְׁאוֹל < *miš'âl, "place of decision (of fates)," a form like בְּסוּתוֹר, "place of refuge (concealment)."   Sum. *ki-namtartarêne*[3] has the same meaning, "the place where the fates are decided," the *Du(l)-azag*.

Originally, *Še'ôl* must have had some such a concrete or appellative meaning (like 'Αἰδης, *mât lâ târi, Irkalla < Uru-gal*, the great city).   The classical Hebrew idea of *Še'ôl*, reflected in Job, verges closely on the Sadducean position of the later Jewish intellectuals, and cannot, of course, have been primitive.   The Canaanites must have had a more or less elaborate eschatology, like their Egyptian, Phoenician, and Syro-Mesopotamian neighbors, from the palpable absurdities of which the Hebrew thinkers reacted.   I will not undertake to determine whether Sumerian influences lie behind the Canaanite conception of *Še'ôl*, or not—my impression is strongly negative.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

[1] The exact connotation of *Še'ôl* is hardly, however, "Ort der Verantwortung."

[2] The development of meaning appears clearly in *šit'ulu*, "question one another," "consult," "form a decision"; *malâku*, "consult," often means "decide."

[3] Some have wished to derive Tartaros from this word.   While the combination is most improbable, it must be admitted that there are many curious coincidences in precisely this field of comparison, and that no one today knows the extent of Mesopotamian influence upon Anatolia and the Egean in the third and second pre-Christian millenniums.   Among such curiosities are Erebos and *erêb Šamši* (cf. *SGl*, 44; also the well-known Asia-*açû*, Europe-*erêbu*), Titan-*ṭiṭânu* (Assmann—some may be tempted to regard this as a pun), Tethys, consort of Okeanos, and Ti'amat-Ταυθη (suggested by Professor Haupt).   At present these combinations belong in the third volume of the *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, a museum of philological *disjecta membra*.

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MOHAMMEDAN LAW

The law and the legal practice of Moslems the world over has been studied perhaps more than any other side of Mohammedan life by European scholars both for political and for scientific reasons and purposes. America has had its share in this work in the excellent introductory handbook of MacDonald. Into the intricacies and detail, however, America has not yet largely entered, although both commercially and politically her relations with the Moslem world are now closer than ever before and bid fair to extend. The Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* have dipped into the stream several times during the past few years, but never before to quite the same extent as in 1916. In that year appeared Hitti's translation of Balâurî's *Book of the Conquest of the Countries* under the title *The Origins of the Islamic State;* this book would have belonged before the forum of this *Journal,* but was not sent here, and is therefore touched upon only lightly, although it was passed by unnoticed in the departments of this University to which it was sent. In the same year the first two parts of Aghnides' *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*[1] were brought out in a volume no smaller in size and not less well printed than Hitti's work.

The authorities of Columbia University are to be congratulated on their policy of giving voice in this excellent series to able young Orientals schooled in Western scientific methods on the affairs of their own world. This is to all intents and purposes a new departure in the annals of American publishing investments, and the reviewer knows of no similar moneys in this country which are or could be invested to better purpose. There is, however, just one word of warning which the writer thinks proper to utter: to secure the best results, results which can with practically absolute safety be used by Western scholars who are not Orientalists, just a little closer supervision over these publications should be exercised by some one of the expert Orientalists on Columbia's staff. It is especially Hitti's work which would and should have profited greatly by such control, as even a non-Orientalist may see by glancing through the Preface. But Aghnides, too, clever as he is and very well at home in English, would have experienced neither harm nor humiliation, if someone whose acquaintance with English and with the Oriental field was wider and of longer standing had carefully gone over his

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[1] *Mohammedan Theories of Finance.* With an Introduction to Mohammedan Law and a Bibliography. By Nicolas P. Aghnides. Studies in History, etc. Vol. LXX, Whole Number 166. New York: Columbia University, 1916. Pp. 540. $4.00.

expanded dissertation. To call attention to only a few matters, especially in Part I and the Bibliography: The phrasing of p. 30, "did not intend to teach a new religion," is hardly happy; neither Mohammed nor his followers ever conceived of Islam as a *new* religion. *Hijrah*, p. 31, is not "literally flight," but "emigration, going (voluntarily) into exile"; p. 33, n. 2, is not correct as it stands. Chapter viii, pp. 109–16, needs supplementing and correction as Guidi, *Sachau Festschrift*, especially pp. 335–36, shows. "To hold something for good, right," p. 94; "This book is from the worst of books," and "on account of its despise of the Sunnites," pp. 194 f., are Orientalisms, which have nothing to commend them to English readers. The critique of p. 124, better on p. 149, is slightly immature and lacks breadth of knowledge and vision; Aristotelian logic and neo-Platonic theology and the world-views thereby conditioned created practically the same situation in the Western world, whenever they held sway during the Middle Ages. Presumably Part III, which is promised, will show how in their glosses, commentaries, and supercommentaries these people did, after all, sometimes and in some measure break through these limitations. In the Bibliography, p. 163, No. 4, de Slane's translation, *Notices et extraits des MSS de la Bibl. impériale*, Vols. XIX–XXI, Paris, 1863–68, should be added. The Korân Concordances of Faiḍ Ullâh (Bairût 1323–1905) and of Ahmad Shah (Benares, 1906) deserve mention beside Flügel; the latter, especially, in spite of glaring peculiarities, is better and fuller than Flügel. A full alphabetical index, at least of the names and titles underscored in the Bibliography, will make it much more valuable and usable, especially in the case of those for whom this whole compendium, in the main excellent, is intended, i.e., for non-Orientalists. This is an omission which can still be made good in Part III, which, it is hoped, will not be so sparing in the matter of indexing as is the oriental custom generally. If the criticism here given seems sharp, it is hoped that it will not be thought unkind or by intention anything other than helpful. Even with the slight faults just mentioned, the book is evidently the work of one thoroughly at home in the Mohammedan world and nearly, if not quite, as much so in our own. It offers an excellent handbook to the historian, sociologist, or political economist, or even to the rare jurist, who dips into the history of his art, a handbook in English, so that he be not obliged to acquire two or three utterly foreign and difficult languages or do without proper information on nearly a third of the world. Part I gives a good survey of the fundamentals of Mohammedan law and legal practice generally; this with MacDonald's handbook should suffice for most students and scholars who cannot go to the sources themselves. Part II gives in detail the intricacies and subtleties of Mohammedan theory, chiefly Hanifite, i.e., official Ottoman, on public or state finance. What Moslem scholars, purely Moslem scholars, think and thought about *zakât*, *ḫaraǧ*, *ǧiziah*, and their less important congeners, the

collection, general management, and proper disbursement of these "taxes," is fully and excellently set forth in these pages. Sufficient warning is given in the book itself against confounding these theories with the actualities of practice, or with a modern view of what is or should be. The historical development of these theories and a critique of them on the basis of actualities and of modern views is promised in Part III, to which we look forward with much interest and with great expectation in the hope that at least some of the improvements suggested here will be included.

MARTIN SPRENGLING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ON ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN ISLAMIC THEOLOGY

Four important articles by Carlo A. Nallino lately appeared in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. VII, fasc. II, 421–66. Not as well known as his countrymen, Guidi and Caetani, Nallino deserves to be heard, as shall presently appear.

The first article deals with a moot point in the development of Muᶜtazilism. Šahrastânî and Maqrîzî report that Ǧâhiz held the Koran to be a body which *might be* transmuted upon occasion into a man or a beast. The dogmatician al-Îǧî and a few followers make Ǧâhiz say that the Koran was a body which (*actually*) transformed itself now into a man and now into a woman.

Modern attempts to understand this strange opinion have been few and unsatisfactory. Sale thought it referred to literal and spiritual interpretation. S. Horovitz and Horten ingeniously and fancifully found in it the influence of Stoicism or some other philosophy. The weakness of all may be illustrated by the sanest, MacDonald, whom the American student should correct. In *Muslim Theology*, etc., p. 161, he says: "We have probably to see in his remark that the Qurᵓan was a body, turned at one time into a man and at another into a beast, a satirical comment on the great controversy of his time." As well might Jonathan Edwards have said this of the Bible. Moreover, the two forms of the report are mixed, with the poorer predominating. It is a conclusion drawn for Ǧâhiz and other Muᶜtazilites from his premises by his opponents, e.g., Ašᶜari: "If the word of God was created, it was a body," etc. The slander of Ǧâhiz goes back, as Šahrâstanî shows, to the skeptic, irreverent Ibu ar Rawandi, who avenged himself on the Muᶜtazilites for disavowing him by writing on "The Ignominies of the Muᶜtazilites."

The second solves the problem of the origin of the Muᶜtazilites in a manner which should find rapid and widespread acceptance. The anecdote of their origin, excellently set forth by MacDonald (*op. cit.*, 129 f.), has

recently been much disparaged. Many moderns have followed Steiner in seeking the point of departure for the Muʿtazilites in the Qadarites. For the name the student may be referred to MacDonald (*loc. cit.*), and to Goldziher's *Vorlesungen*, page 100, where the word is explained as ascetic separatists. That the great master's authority may not give this general acceptance, it may be said blankly that this is fanciful and probably wrong. The dissent of the founders of Muʿtazilism from the orthodox position arose in the differences of opinion which followed the Charigite revolts. The Charigites held that a committer of a great sin, though a professing Muslim, was an unbeliever. The orthodox held that a professing Muslim, though he commit a great sin, must be considered a believer (cf. MacDonald, *loc. cit.*). Either view was fraught with grave and far-reaching consequences in this present practical and political world, not only in the world to come. The early Muʿtazilites *dissented, as neutrals, from both extremes*, and held that such a man was neither the one nor the other, but something midway between. The theologians of Islam, blinded by *furor polemicus*, early lost sight of these facts and branded these men as sectarians, dissenters from the orthodox belief. The historians give us the clue, where they speak of Muʿtazilites as neutral in early *political* controversies. A historian, Masʿûdî, has preserved the connecting link between these and the *theological* neutrals. Of course, these men presently were anything but sapless neutrals in the rapidly rising and multiplying theological debates of their time.

The third article complements and adds valuable material to Goldziher's work on the relations of the (Charigite) Ibâdites with the Muʿtazilites (*Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*, LXII, 232).

The last note does for the name Qadarites (MacDonald, p. 128, who, with others perpetuates a slip of the great Pococke) what the second did for the Muʿtazilites. *Qadar* does not mean "power," nor is the name quite *lucus a non lucendo* (Goldziher). It is merely a result of the clumsy and undeveloped technical terminology of the early days, 680–700, when Muslim Arabs first were driven to theological thinking, that men who called *qadar*, "absolute predestination," into question and debated upon its relation to free will, instead of simply accepting the koranic statements, were named *Qadarites*, "Predestinationists," just as early Charigites were called "judgment men" because they made the celebrated judgment on Ali's caliphate matter of debate by opposing it.

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NOTES ON EGYPTO-SEMITIC ETYMOLOGY. II

BY W. F. ALBRIGHT
Johns Hopkins University

The following etymologies are the result of studies in comparative Semitic lexicography and etymology made during the last three years. With Professor Ember's generous aid I have winnowed out much chaff; some will naturally remain. Much new etymological material· of mine bearing on the other Semitic languages has been included. Even where it does not affect the Egyptian directly the impartial application of our principles to the various languages of the group cannot but prove reassuring and stabilizing. In this way, moreover, the Semitist will be able to catch a glimpse of the gains which will accrue to him from the study of the oldest monuments of Semitic speech. The earliest Egyptian records antedate by fully five hundred years the inscriptions of the Akkadian kings (ca. 2850–2700).

1. βd, 'rage'= هَدّ , 'crash, roar' (هَدّة , 'thunder'; hence the thunder-god is Hadad, like Râgimu and Rammân-Rimmôn), related (Haupt) to هَدَر , 'roar'= הדר (GB^{16}); cf. also هَدْهَد and هَيْد. In a word of such evident onomatopoetic origin the shift between β and h is not surprising; cf. ארה (ארה; cf. ὡρύομαι) and هَرَم . A phonetic change is also possible; cf. iw, 'be'= הוה (הוה) and iwr, 'be pregnant'= הרה (both due to Sethe).· The association between βd and βdw, 'crocodile,' is hardly more than paronomasia.

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2. *ꝫsḫ*, 'reap.' I would regard this word as denominative from *ꝫsḫ*, 'sickle' = Coptic ⲞⲤⳘ. Since the Egyptian sickles were usually (and always originally) made of flint set in a wooden frame, we may compare Eth. አዝኅ:, *ꝫĕzḫ*, 'flint.' The consonantal structure is identical.

—*iꝫrrt*—see *ʿrt*.

3. *iꝫḫi*, 'overflow'; *iꝫḫt*, 'inundation.' This word is surely Eth. አይኅ:, *ꝫaiḫ*, 'flood, deluge,' especially of the κατακλυσμός· Dillmann's comparison of አይ: (denominative) and ይዝአ:, 'descend (from heaven)' is very doubtful, and the combination with وقع , 'fall,' is more than doubtful. I would find the stem in Assyr. *mêḫû*, 'hurricane,' used almost interchangeably with *abûbu*, 'flood.' For the etymology of the word cf. Ar. *ꝫaḫḫu*ⁿ or *ꝫiḫḫu*ⁿ, 'filth' (= قذر , *LA*, III, 480) and دقيق يصبّ عليه ماء فيُبْرق بزيت او=اخيجحة سمن , a gruel mixed with oil. Comparing the rhyme words *šaḫâḫu* (cf. *s.v. wsš*), *raḫâḫu*, and *maḫâḫu*[1] all meaning 'pour, soil,' etc., and the parallel development of بلّ , *balâlu*, بلبل , etc., whence בַּבּוּל and *bubbulu* = *abûbu*, I would suggest a root-meaning 'pour.'

—*iʿb*—see *ʿb*.

—*iʿf*—see *ᶜf*.

—*iʿm*—see *ᶜm*.

—*iʿrt*—see *ᶜrt*.

4. *iwᶜ*, 'heir.' In an article in *ZA*, I have shown (independently of Torczyner, *WZKM*, XXVIII, 465) that Assyr. *ablu*, 'heir' (> Sum. *ibila*), is derived from *hbl* (هبل , הֶבֶל, stem of הֶבֶל , 'vapor, transitoriness'), 'to change,' a primary sense from which all the meanings of the stem may readily be deduced. هبل , 'be silly,' is a parallel to خلف , *šanû*, etc. (*JAOS*, XXXVI, 229), and is not a transposition, as Brockelmann thinks, of بهل=בהל = Eg. *bh3*, 'flee' (Ember). It might have been added that the pre-Islâmic gods Hubal and ᶜAuḍ (عوض , 'change') are in all probability different forms of the Arabian Chronos (cf. Orelli, *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit*, p. 107). *Ablu*, 'heir,' is an exact parallel to خليفة , 'successor'; the stem appears in Arabic as هَبِلَ , 'be deprived of a

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[1] Note also ضخّ . 'pour,' and بخّ . 'drizzle.'

son (mother),' a privative development or, more probably, in view of the synonym ثكل, תִכֹל (אִתְכוֹל, 'cluster of grapes'), euphemistic, 'have a son, be fruitful.' Ar. *hábila* points unmistakably to the primitive matriarchate. In view, therefore, of *ablu* and *halîfa* I propose the combination of *iwᶜ* with ⲞⲨⲰϢ:, 'change,' primarily perhaps 'turn, twist,' which appears in Arabic as عول (cf. ⲒⲚⲰ:= خول, ⲒⲚⲈ:=(خيل)=תֻל. عِيلَ عَوْلُهُ means ثكلته امّه ,هبلته امّه, 'his mother was deprived of him' (*LA*, XIII, 511, 10). Literally the phrase means 'a wailing was made for him'; its origin is none too clear; *LA* gives a variant عال عوله. Perhaps we have to do with a popular etymology (عَوَّل, 'wail'), and the idiom had the original force 'his change turned, he died'; cf. عيل, 'become poor.' Or عيل may have meant 'be succeeded' or 'be deprived of a suc-cessor' (cf. above for هبل and خلف); cf. اعقب, 'die,' properly 'cause one to succeed (at the heel).' Ar. ᶜaḭil (pl. ᶜiḭâl), 'family, children,' may thus have meant 'heir(s), successor(s).' عال, 'pro-vide for one's family' (*LA*, XIII, 513, 18 f.: قام بما يحتاجون هَبَّل (اليه من قوت وكسوة وغيرهما) is an interesting analogy to and حوف, which exhibit the same development. *GB*[16] is probably wrong in combining عيّل with תֻל, 'suckling,' עוּלָא, βρέφος, עֲרֵל, 'boy,' etc., which belong solely to غيل, 'suckle,' and the related עָלֵל, stem of עוֹלָל, primarily 'suckling,' like *lakû* (cf. *s.v. irṭt*); *ulâltu* (*HW*, p. 71*b*) means 'nurse,' and is a formation like *qurâdu*, 'warrior' (*ulâlûtu*, 'weakness,' is properly 'childlikeness'; there is no valid evidence for a stem אלל, 'hinfällig sein'; contrast Dennefeld, *Geburtsomina*, p. 32). Accordingly I would connect *iwᶜ*, 'heir,' and *iwᶜ*, 'reward' (see below), with ᶜ*lw*, ᶜ*wl* > *ᶜwi* > *iwᶜ*. My etymology of the homonym *iwᶜ*, whence the hieroglyph, representing a bone with its flesh, connecting it with وعى, 'mend, of a broken bone,' is as doubtful as the origin of the Arabic word.

5. *iwᶜ*, 'reward,' seems to be analogous to *abâlu*, 'pay,' originally 'give in exchange,' like عوض, etc. For the development 'pay, reward,' cf. *fqȝ*, 'reward,' which I would combine with ثقل, *šaqâlu*, 'pay' (properly 'weigh out'; cf. סלא); שִׁלֵּם, *šalâmu*, 'pay, begleichen,' and *šulmânu*, 'present'; also *belohnen*.

6. *iwš*, 'masturbate' (e.g., *Pyr. Texts*, 1248; later rationalism made a goddess Iusas consort of Atum-Rêᶜ), and (7) *iwšw*, 'balance' (מאזנים). The stem of these words, **iwš*, I would connect with سوى, שוה, 'be level, equal, like'; for transposition, especially common with the weak consonants, cf. *i3q*= رقى, 'ascend' (Ember), *irt*, 'eye,' and ראה (Ember), above on *iwᶜ*, and below on *wt*, etc. For *iwšw*, 'balance,' note that سوّى = عدل, 'make level,' has the specific sense 'equalize the two pans of a balance.' Ar. اسوى = احدث, means 'pollute one's self accidentally (by emission of semen) so as to be hindered from prayers.' A hint as to the original sense is offered by *sai̯ʾuⁿ*, 'milk running from the teats without being milked.' For the development cf. *sáhula*, 'be level, equal, easy,' whence *ishâl* is 'diarrhoea.' Accordingly امنى = اسوى (in the meaning استمنى بالمد; see below on *Mnw*), which is only another proof (*iwš3w*= مستمنى) that pornographic words and symbols belong to the oldest precipitates of civilization, and hence are of the utmost importance for sociogenetic studies. Another value given for أوعب فى امرأة, أسوى, means primarily 'level.'

8. *iwd*, 'separate'= ودر, 'repulse, ward off'; cf. *ḫšf*, 'ward off' = فسح, 'separate,' etc. (there are many parallels in Semitic). ودر, 'squander wealth,' is 'separate (one's self from it).' A related stem is perhaps درأ, 'drive, repel'= *d3r* (Ember).

9. *inp*, 'child, offspring'= ⲱⲁⲛ:, 'egg' (cf. ideogram for *šwḥt* used for *s3*, 'child, son'), والبنة, scion, sprout' (*KB*, VI, 1, 327; *VG*, p. 234:= *liblibbu*, 'offspring'; cf. לבלב, 'tendril, branch.' Similarly *libu* means both 'offspring' and 'palm shoot'; cf. Schorr, *VB*, V, 190). However, I am still inclined to think with *JAOS*, XXXVI, 228, that *elêbu*, 'grow, flourish,' belongs with حلب instead of with ولب (Jensen). To the illustrations there cited add در, ثر, both of milk and of rain, fertility, and note that Assyr. *libû* is a synonym of *ṭuḫdu*, while لبأ = 'to milk the first milk of a ewe,' clearly connected with حلب. Ar. ضرّع is used in the sense of 'fertility' like Lat. *uber*. The root meaning of the stems *lbb* (whence

libbu, 'body, heart,' primarily 'entrails,' like קרב, *q³b*), *labû, laṷû* (لوى), *lapâpu* is 'turn, twist,' applied hence to 'tendril, sprout.' For $i < \ṷ$ cf. *iqr* = وقر, *i³dt*, 'dew' = *وردة (Ember), *iśq* = وثق (Müller), etc.; for $p < b$ cf. *ᶜpi* = עבר (Ember), *pśg* = بسق (Ember), *ḥsp* = *hezb*, *ḥp³* = *henbert* (below), etc.

10. *iri*, 'make, do' = *ṷarû*, 'bring, lead,' just as *rdi* (q.v.) = *redû*, 'bring, lead, cause, produce.' Excellent parallels are Lat. *ago* (ἄγω = 'drive, lead'), and *treiben* = *tun;* for others cf. *s.v. rdi*. ירה, ⲱⳐⲱ:, 'throw,' are like ردى, etc. It is very possible that *ṷarû* is connected with ראה, 'see' (*irt*, 'eye,' Ember), in view of *atû*, 'see,' properly 'come upon, find,' like מצא. It is also possible, as Vollers suggested (*GB*[16], *s.v.* ירה) that הראה and הורה bear a relation like *amâru* and אמר, connected through the causative 'show.' However, I will refrain from penetrating deeper at present into these glottogonic jungles.

11. *irp*, 'wine'; cf. *s.v. šdḥ.*

12. *irṭt*, 'milk.' I would associate this word with لكع, 'strike the breast of a mother in milking or sucking' = نكع; *LA*, X, 198 has: ولكع الرجل الشاة اذا افعل بها ذلك عند حلبها وهو ان يضرب ضرعها لتدّر. The *lukaᶜ* is explained as a 'colt' (*muhr*) or 'foal of an ass' (*ǧaḥś;* also = 'gazelle,' probably Eg. *ǧḥś*, 'gazelle'), meaning primarily 'sucking colt.' A young boy (الصبى الصغير) is called by the same name (cf. on *ᶜḏd*); this is the Assyr. *lakû*, a synonym of *çiḥru, šerru* (Eg. *šri* < *šrr*, 'be small,' Ember), *ulâlu* (see on *iwᶜ*), etc., meaning properly 'suckling,' like *šerru* in the myth of "Ea and Atraḥasîs." In the "Descent of Ištar," l. 36, *ana çiḥri lakî lubkî ša ina lâ ûmišu* = "For the infant, the suckling I will weep, who before his time (his mother has deserted," after the goddess' descent to Hades). The meaning of the root *lak* is 'bite, prick, sting, suck,' as well as 'strike, stroke, milk' (cf. the development of γάλα), values which are found in a large number of more or less related stems (cf. ⲗⲏⲕ:, 'impress, inscribe, stick'; لكأ, لكّ, لكى, etc.). As usual in such words we have rhyme formations (which remain to be studied in Semitic, where the difficulties to be

surmounted are much greater than in Indo-European); cf. لكع : لسع :
وكع (Eth. ⲱ70 :, 'give milk to drink,' and ⲱ7ħ :, 'strike, prick' =
(وجأ) = 'prick' : 'stick' : 'sting.' We need hardly enumerate here all
the similar stems, including those with غ; نسع (نزغ), لدغ = ندغ
(cf. لكع and نكع), etc. While *irṭṭ* may be derived from another
stem of our root *lak* (*rṭ;* that *ṭ = č* is the palatalization of *k* is now
absolutely certain; several illustrations will be found below, s.v. *ṭwf*
and *ṭpħt*), a direct connection with لكم, *lakû* is by no means
impossible; the ᶜ is often lost in Egyptian, as in *wg3*, 'be wretched' =
وجع (Ember); *ng3*, 'touch, grasp' = נגע (Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 116);
inq, 'embrace' = عانق ; *idr*, 'flock' = עֵדֶר (Ember); *q3bt*, 'nipple' (for
*qᶜb = *kᶜb, by partial assimilation) = Ar. *kuᶜb* (Ember); *dw3*, 'morn-
ing' = غداla (Ember); *dw3*, 'pray' = دعو (Ember).

13. *isw*, 'recompense, price,' is to be combined with أزى, 'be
opposite, correspond.' Cf. *maḫîru*, 'price,' from *maḫâru*, 'receive,'
properly 'be in front, opposite'; *maḫar = ʾizâʾ*; *miṭḫuru* means 'corre-
spond'; cf. also on *iwᶜ*, 'reward.' Eg. *isw*, 'old,' would then mean
עתיק יומיא (Dan. 7:13), 'advanced in years.'

14. *iśq*—see next word.

15. *itħ*, 'shoot (an arrow).' In Gen. 21:16 archers are called
מטחוי קשת, properly 'those who stretch the bow.'[1] Ar. طحا =
'stretch out, throw'; *ṭaḥaⁿ* is 'level ground,' like *saṭḥ* (Assyr. *siḫpu*,
'surface,' *KB*, VI, 2, 96, l. 2, exhibits the same development); طحى,
'depart,' 'perish,' is clearly a modification of the same basic idea.
Related stems are طمّ , 'stretch out, spread,' سطم = שטה , ⲚⲦⲣ :
(a causative, as Ember pointed out many years ago), طيم and
طوح; the ideas 'stray, perish,' come from 'stretch, incline';
طوح = اطمّ , 'throw down, hurl.' טוח , 'smear' (whence *ṭâʾatu,*
'bribe,' as Haupt has shown; cf. my article in *ZA* on *tenśû, tuśśu*),

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[1] דרך קשת means, according to Haupt, not 'foot the bow,' but 'subdue it, force it to
bend.' Assyr. *mulmulla nasâku* (*Creation*, IV, 101) I would explain as 'set the arrow (on
the bowstring), shoot,' like הרכב חט (*Pap. Eleph.*, 56, Col. 1, 1. 3), lit. 'cause the
arrow to ride (on the bowstring).'

is 'spread, coat'; the stems with *ḫ* probably have no connection.
E.g. *iṯḥ* also means 'drag,' of a net; cf. Gardiner, *Admonitions*,
p. 86. A related stem is perhaps Eth. ⲱⲦⲫ:, 'heap up, pile,'
originally 'spread out' (Dillmann; cf. שָׁפַךְ, 'pour out,' and *šapâku*,
'heap up,' which exhibit complementary meanings like *karâmu*,
JAOS, XXXVI, 228).

I had combined *isq*, 'wait,' with ⲱⲛⲫ:, 'draw the bow,' com-
paring קוה, *quᵤᵤû*, 'wait,' i.e., 'be on a stretch,' and קַו, قوى,
وقى = *ṇaqû*, 'watch, wait' (cf. Haupt on *ṭuppû* = טִפָּה, *ZA*, XXX,
96 ff.), before noticing that Müller had combined it with وثق, 'be
firm, reliable' (*MVAG*, XVII, 3, 75, n. 1). No doubt Müller is
correct; وثق is thus the Arabic equivalent of ⲱⲛⲫ:; *isq*, however,
is naturally not a loan-word.

16. ⲥⲓ, 'shout' (for *ᶜiᶜi) = ⲱⲱⲟ:, 'shout' (for *ⲱⲟⲱⲟ:),
وعوع , وعى (cf. وغى).

17. ⲥⲱ, 'sleep' (for *ᶜwᶜw or *iᶜw; see Erman, *ÄZ*, XLVI, 96 ff.,
on the assimilation of *i* to ᶜ; the opposite process also occurs) =
وَعِىَ , 'wake up' (انتبه), 'watch, pay attention, remember.' For
the antiphrasis see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 86 f.: هجل, 'sleep,
wake'; حرس , 'watch' = Tigriña *ḥarrasa*, 'sleep,' etc. The process
of transformation may have been 'collect one's self' (for original
meaning cf. وعى , 'gather,' and יָעִים, 'shovels'), 'pay attention,
wake up, be wakeful, sleep fitfully, slumber, sleep' (for analogous
shifts cf. *s.v. ṯḥn*). Ember compares *rš*, 'awake' (originally 'raise
the head'; cf. Müller, *RT*, XXXI, 188, n. 3), and *ršwt*, 'dream,' *wrš*,
'headrest' (on which the Egyptians pillowed their heads).

18. ⲥⲓ*f*, 'squeeze out, strain, filter' (cf. *wᶜf*, 'bind') = עָרַף, 'drip,'
Assyr. *erêpu* > *erpitu, urpatu*, 'cloud' (= עֲרָפֶל; cf. modern عريف,
GB[16]). A transposed doublet is רָעַף = رعف, 'drip'; أرعف = 'press,
squeeze, cause to drip (of a skin-bottle)'; cf. رعف , 'bleed at the
nose.' The meanings of ⲥⲓ*f* and رعف are so close that they may
be identical instead of doublets.

19. ⲥ*b*, 'bind' = عم , עֲמִים (cf. *עֲמִיתָה), whence עַם, 'people';
cf. *kimtu* = עַם (as in ᶜ*Ammu-raṇiḫ* = *Kîmtu-rapaštuᵐ*; see Lucken-
bill, *JAOS*, XXXVII, 250 ff.), from *kamû*, 'bind'; عمامة , 'turban,'

is 'what is bound' (around the head).   The interchange of *b* and *m* between Semitic, Egyptian, and Coptic is extremely common.   Eg. ˤb, 'horn,' I would derive from ˤb, 'bind'; the horns of cattle are bound to the yoke; cf. *qarn*, 'horn,' *miqran*, 'yoke.'   While in Palestine the neck-yoke was regularly employed, in Egypt the yoke was almost invariably bound to the horns; cf. Schäfer, *Priester-gräber vom Totentempel des Ne-user-Rê*, p. 170 and Fig. 11.   One might expect a word like ˤb to be primitive, but cf. *mšdr*, 'ear,' and *irt*, 'eye,' etc.   Even קֶרֶן, *qarn*, in spite of its too obvious similarity to *cornu*, is perhaps to be derived from قرن, *qarânu*, 'gather, join.' The stem cannot well be denominative; cf. قرأ, 'gather,' whence probably قرأ, קרא, 'read,' like *lego*, 'lesen.'   Ember calls attention to the fact that *šdi* has the same development.   It is true that קרא is usually taken to be onomatopoetic, like קול and *qri*, 'thunder,' but קרא, 'read' may have been influenced in its development by the meaning 'collect.'   I would connect הָוָה, *hw* (Ember), *auû* (whence *auâtu*, 'word,' Ungnad), 'announce,' with حوى, *hw* (Ember), 'gather.'

20. ˤbˤ, 'boast'—see next word.

21. ˤm, 'swallow'= عبّ, 'swallow, gulp down without sipping or taking breath' (*LA*, II, 61: العبّ شرب الماء من غير مصّ وقيل ان يشرب الماء ولا يتنفس), a force closely akin to غبّ and غبج. Eg. ˤm means also 'absorb' (e.g., *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 14, 1).   Hence Ember is inclined to connect ˤm with ˤmi, 'know' (i.e., 'absorb, learn'), and علم.   However, it seems to me preferable to separate the two stems, combining ˤmi with علم and ˤm with عبّ.   Very possibly ˤbˤ, 'boast,' comes from the same root; ˤubâb (=ˤubb, ǧubb) = 'first swelling of a torrent, flood' (=abûbu, with Landberg, *Datînah*, II, 394 f.; vocalization is like *atûdu* =ˤatûd, *wzâlu* =ǧazâl; cf. also חָרוּץ =hurâçu), اول الماء ومعظمه.   A flood swallows and gulps down everything in its path.[1]   From the idea 'swell, of a torrent,'

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[1] Hence وعب means 'take the whole of a thing, be comprehensive,' a meaning illustrated in various ways; وعيب is 'wide, spacious.'   For development cf. ذبكم, استبكم.   From وعب, عبّ is developed also the meaning 'shine forth, be bright, pure, clean.'   Eg. *wˤb*, which Ember has combined with عبّ (عبّ الشمس, 'light of

come عِبِّيَّة and غِبِّيَّة , 'pride, boastfulness, haughtiness,' with which
cf. ᶜbᶜ, 'boast.'

22. ᶜnḫ, 'live' = عيش , 'live.' For ḫ = ش see above, in the intro-
duction. A possible secondary n¹ need afford no difficulty; verbs
with prefixed n are very common in Semitic, while infixed n is found.²
In Egyptian we have a number of cases of affixed n, originating,
perhaps, in the śḏmnf form; as śbb–śbn, 'mix' (شاب , šabâšu
[Ember]; śbb is used of mixing dough, just as in Assyrian; cf. Gar-
diner, RT, XXXIV, 64, and Haupt, AJSL, XXVI, 16, and note 63),
qśn, 'be hard' (קשה, Ember), ḥwn (*חיר, 'live,' Ember), etc.
Moreover, we already have in Arabic a stem نعش , 'raise, support,
invigorate.' Naᶜš, 'bier' (سرير الميت), may be compared, as sug-
gested by Ember, to ᶜnḫ, 'mummy' (for this meaning cf. Naville,
Litanie du soleil, p. 97, and Sphinx, IX, 89). Both expressions are
evidently euphemistic (cf. منعوش = ميّت). It is most improbable
that نعش = رفع has any connection with نشأ . The primary mean-
ing of عيش , نعش (root ᶜaš) may have been 'support,' hence
'nourish, keep alive.' The force 'live' may develop from 'keep
alive,' just as in the case of balâṭu, 'live' (bulluṭu = פלט; cf. خلص
and muššuru). Eg. ᶜnḫt, 'grain' (Gardiner, Admonitions, p. 49) is
compared by Ember with ᶜaiš and ḥw (see OLZ, XIX, 73).

the sun') = ebêbu, 'be bright, clean'; cf. nabû, 'be brilliant' = nabû, נבע, نبع , 'gush
forth, of a fountain,' and nabâṭu, 'flash forth, shine' = نبط , synonym of نبع (nabâṭu
ša šamši, ûmi = عبّ الشمس). Eg. Iȝḫw, 'radiance,' may be connected with Iȝḫi,
'flood.' On the other hand, wbn, 'shine,' is probably not وبل , 'flow,' but banû, 'be
bright' (Ember), in view of bnbn = ziqqûratu and šumu babbanu (for *banbanu) = šumu
tizqaru, 'renowned name.' Nor has نهار , 'day,' any connection with نهم , 'flow';
نهار is a secondary formation from נור , while نهم , 'flow,' seems to belong with
Eg. hr, 'to milk' (هر , 'flow'), and the rhyme formations ثرّ and درّ , 'flow,' both
used also of milk.

¹ Parasitic n is common in Coptic, Aramaic, and Ethiopic.

² For infixed n cf. כף and כנה (kappu = כנה; kippât erṣitiᵐ = כנפות הארץ).
and קמץ , ضنك , sanâqu (Haupt, Brockelmann) and ضيق , ṣâqu (root probably ضق).
Also affixed n is common; cf. قسا , قسن , 'be hard,' دجن ، دج , etc.

23. ʿnḫ, 'sandal strap' (cf. Gardiner in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 20 f.), is to be connected with عنش, 'bend, twist'; cf. شراك نعל (שׂרוֹךְ נַעַל) from شرك = שׂרֵךְ, 'twist, bind, tie.' According to Ember ʿnḫ, 'swear,' may be derived from the stem of ʿnḫ, 'sandal strap,' just as ʿrq, 'swear,' = غلق (Ember), in the sense 'bind, confirm.' Naturally ʿnḫ may be a denominative, analogous to حَبَّا , 'salute.'

24. ʿrt, 'snake, uraeus' (iʿrt, ʿʿrt; cf. Erman, *ÄZ*, XLVI, 96 ff.). I am inclined to derive this word, along with (25) ʿrt, 'book roll,' and (26) iȝrrt, iȝiit (for ʿrrt), 'vine, tendril, twig,' from a stem *ʿr, 'twist' = غَرّ , 'delude, deceive' (ġarr is 'fold in a garment'; cf. also عوا and غوا , 'twist, bend, deceive,' etc.). There are several Assyrian words which may belong to this stem instead of the parallel arâru, אָרַר , 'bind, curse' (i.e., 'ban'): irru, 'entrails' (cf. Haupt on irrû, 'Mohn,' *ZA*, XXX, 63); irru, 'sling'; arru (אָרָא), 'bird catcher.' Eg. iʿrt, 'serpent' is 'the coiler'; cf. parallels quoted under wtt = طوط . Iȝrrt, 'vine,' is 'the twiner'; ʿrt, 'book' is hardly עוֹר , 'skin' (Brugsch), but is analogous to mdȝt, 'scroll' = מְגִלָּה (Ember), from the same root as dȝdȝ, 'head' = גֻּלְגֹּלֶת (Ember).

27. ḥi, 'hang, be suspended' (Coptic ⲈⲒϢⲈ, 'hang up') = رخو , رخى , 'be soft, lax, indolent' (cf. aḫa nadû, χεὶρ παρειμένη), أرخى , 'loosen,' with which we may combine Ⲏ̀ⲤⲒⲰ :, 'open' (Dillmann, col. 293, compared روح , רוּחַ, which is obviously improbable); cf. حلّ , 'loosen,' and הֵחֵל , 'begin' (ḥȝt, Ember), שׁרא , šurrû, 'open, initiate, begin.' 'To cause to be loose' = 'to hang,' so أرخى = 'let down' (curtain, etc.). Through the development 'suspend, let down, drop, pour' we arrive at تراخى , 'sprinkle, of rain,' and raḫû, 'pour, impregnate'; for raḫâḫu cf. already *s.v.* iȝḫ. Ar. رخ is clearly connected with رخو ; for خ، , 'tread under foot' (to soften); cf. وثر with the same meaning (Assyr. ašâru). For ʿ = r cf. the ʿḥm, ʿšm, 'hawk,' which Ember has identified with רָחָם = رخم , 'vulture.'

28. ʿẖm, 'extinguish (fire),' is hard to separate from خبو, 'be extinguished (fire),' originally perhaps connected with خبأ, הבא, 'cover, hide'; fire is put out by suffocation; cf., however, כבה and كبا, which suggest a rhyme formation. Ar. خبع, 'be stifled, choked' (by sobs, of an infant; *LA*, IX, 414, خبع الصبىّ انقطع نفسه وفُحِمَ من البكاء), forms perhaps a bridge between ʿẖm and خبا. Ember suggests a comparison with عشم, 'be dry, arid'; cf. בלה and *bullû*, 'extinguish.' Ar. عشم, however, is perhaps a modification of عشب, 'be dry' (of herbage), which originally meant precisely the opposite, 'sprout, flourish' (*uššubu* = *unnubu*, נוב). One might also think of غشم, 'be violent,' with the force 'suppress.'

29. ʿdd, 'boy,' = עֵגֶל, 'calf,' from עגל = عجل, 'hasten' (originally 'roll'); cf. פַּר, etc., and فرّ, 'flee.' Eth. እጓል: (with አ!), means in general 'young animal,' also 'child.' For the association of ideas, cf. Eg. *nfr*, 'colt, boy'; *mâru*, 'boy, son,' and *mûru* (Ar. *muhr*), 'colt'; טַלְיָא, 'boy,' and טָלֶה, 'lamb,' طلا, 'lamb, kid'; עוּלָא, ዑጋል:, 'colt,' and עַיִל, 'boy'; 'kid' = 'child'; in Spanish *pollo* ('cockerel') means 'boy,' while in the United States 'chicken' may mean 'girl.' For *d* < *l* cf. on *ḏdb* = جلب. The change is not uncommon in Semitic; cf. Haupt, *JBL*, XXXV, 322, and Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, p. 45 (ነገል: = *nagl*, 'race, posterity'; አልግ:, 'ass' = ʿilǧ, 'wild ass'—in both cases with *g*, just as with ʿdd and ḏdb!). The change is also common enough in Indo-European and very common in Malay. We have in Egyptian *d* for *r* (also in Ethiopic; cf. Praetorius, *BA*, I, 45 ff.) in *mdd*, 'press,' and *mdr*, which corresponds to مصر, 'milk by squeezing the teats between the fingers' = Eth. መጸ:, 'chew.'

30. *wmt*—see note on *nhd*.

31. *wn*—see *wnn*.

32. *wnwn*, 'shake, sway' = Eth. *ወለወለ: (ተወለወለ:, etc.), 'shake, tremble.'

33. *wni*, 'run' = ونى, 'be weak' (ינה, 'oppress,' is a transitive development; cf. *GB*[16]), connected with وهن, ون (نأتى) انى, and

(with *med. h* as רִהֵט = רוּץ, نهار, 'day,' etc.).   The development of meaning is shown by יָעַף = وغف, 'run fast,' to which Professor Ember directed my attention.   We say 'run down' = 'weak, exhausted.'   Eg. *whn*, 'destroy' (a wall) is to be connected with وهى, 'break, tear (intransitive), be weak, on the point of falling (wall)'; see Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 117, No. 68.   I would also connect with وهى Eg. *whi*, 'forsake, escape,' which presents a development of meaning precisely like Assyr. *mašâru* (for *uašâru*), 'cut, sever' (= Eth. መሠረ፡, وشر, etc.), *muššuru*, 'forsake, escape,' and ፈልጠ፡, 'separate, split,' פָּלַט, 'escape.'   Many other parallels could be adduced.   The *n* in *whn* is secondary; cf. above, *s.v.* ʿnḫ.

34. *wnn*, 'to be.'   The etymology of this word is so extraordinarily intricate that I cannot hope to solve it entirely.   I will therefore present my ideas in somewhat apodictic fashion, leaving the decision to the future.   Following a hint dropped somewhere by Renouf, I would regard the primitive meaning of the root as 'open,' Eg. *wn*, especially of vegetation, 'open out, ripen.'   The original meaning is reflected perhaps in אֲנִי, *ʾinâ*, etc., 'vessel' (Eg. *nw*, *hnw*, Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 116); the secondary sense appears in ينع, 'ripen,' and اني, which is phonetically very close to the basic form of the root.   From the meaning 'ripen' comes 'be fixed, appointed, of time'; cf. our 'maturity.'   Hence is derived Ar. *ʾanâ*, 'maturity, time,' *ʾanâ*, *ʾân*, *ʾauân*, 'time, portion of time, moment' = Eg. *nw*, 'time,' *wnw*, 'hour' (Ember).   'To come at an appointed time' is 'to happen, befall' (Heb. אֻנָּה, Puʿal).   Hence, again, we have אִנָּה, 'cause to fall (into), deliver over,' primarily 'cause to befall.' The reflexive تاني easily assumes the force 'wait for the appointed time, delay, procrastinate,' whence also اني, 'delay,' آني, 'retard,' اسانى, 'wait for' (הִתְאַנָּה, 'look for an opportunity').   This meaning appears in Egyptian in the causative *šin*, 'wait' (Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 117).   Eg. *wnn*, 'to be,' may derive its force from 'to befall, happen,' like הָיָה (הֹוֹה, 'fall'), or it may have meant 'wait, remain, exist, be,' like Eth. ቆለወ፡ = هلهل, 'wait' (Praetorius, *BA*, I, 34, who cites as parallels ባቅሐ፡, بقى, and Galla *tur*), هل, 'remain behind.'   Eg. *ḫpr*, 'become, exist,' is the Arabic خلف, 'change,' as

first suggested by Ember. One might, following Dillmann, cite
ሀስወ : = حَال, 'change,' as a parallel, but Praetorius has provided
us with a much better etymology of the Ethiopic word. An
excellent parallel is *werden*, connected with *vertere*. In view of خلف ,
'succeed, be behind,' one might be tempted to compare *ḫpr* to It. *suc-
cedere*, Sp. *suceder*, 'happen, take place' (*tener lugar*), etc. خلف is
Heb. הָלַף, 'change, replace, pass by,' Assyr. *ḫalâpu*, 'clothe,'
properly 'put on a change of garments' (הֲלִיפָה).

35. *wnḫ*, 'adorn, clothe' = Assyr. *alâḫu* (on *ulluḫu*, 'adorn,
clothe,' see Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XI, 157), which must be kept
separate from *alâḫu* = אָלַח, الخ , 'spoil, sour' (*OLZ*, XVII, 494).
The stem is apparently to be associated with Eth. ስሕየ :, 'be
handsome,' ተስሕየ :, and لوح, 'shine.' Gesenius'
combination of this stem with לְחִי, 'jaw' (Assyr. *laḫû*, Eg. *nḫ*,
Ember), is very probable; see the *Thesaurus*, p. 751. The root *laḫ*
means 'be fresh,' hence 'bright, ruddy,' of the cheek, etc. In
Ethiopic לְחִי appears (Praetorius, *BA*, I, 24 f.) as ምልታሕት :,
'cheek.' The stems from our root appear in Assyrian (*alâḫu, laḫû,
lâḫu*) and Egyptian (*wnḫ, nḫn, nḫ*) with *ḫ*, while in South Semitic we
have *ḥ*; Hebrew and Aramaic are doubtful. Apparently there were
parallel roots *laḥ* and *laḫ* in proto-Semitic.

36. *wrḏ*, 'rest' = ولج , 'enter.' *Wrḏ* is presumably denomina-
tive from a noun corresponding to Eth. አንት :, 'hut, house'; cf.
بات , 'spend the night,' Assyr. *bâtu*, 'rest' (*nubâttu*, 'rest-day, holi-
day'), from *baịt*, 'house,' itself to be derived, with Haupt, from
בוא , 'enter.' Haupt also derives לין, 'spend the night,' from
lânu, 'inclosure.' Similarly, Praetorius (*BA*, I, 23) explains አዐረፈ :,
'rest,' as denominative from a word corresponding to غُرْفَة , meaning
"auf den Söller, das Oberstockwerk gehen."[1]

37. *whi*—see on *wni*.

38. *wsš*, 'make water, piss' = شخ , 'piss,' Assyr. *šaḫâḫu*, 'dis-
charge semen'; a vocabulary published by Jastrow, *ZA*, IV, 155,
l. 15, has *uš-zu-a-ri-a* = *šaḫâḫu*. The Sumerian expression means

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[1] Eg. *wrḏ* also means 'be tired,' which Ember thinks is more original, but may easily
be secondary, like modern نهل ; see Haupt, *AJSL*, XXII, 198.

'to impregnate (*a-ri-a* = *raḫû*, lit. 'pour water'), of a penis in coitus'
(*zu* is used like Heb. ירה); the ideogram for *kaš* (= *šînatu*), 'urine'
is *UŠ+A*. This *šaḫâḫu* is entirely distinct from *šaḫâḫu*, 'bow
down,' = שׁוּחַ; cf. above on *ḥi*. Eg. *šš* stands for *šš* < *šḫ;* the form
with initial *w* is either secondary or corresponds to a * وشخ . There

is no difficulty in the dissimilation, which is paralleled in *šš*, q.v.; cf.
ušuzzu for *uzuzzu* (Haupt, *BA*, V, 471; Ylvisaker, *Zur babyl. und
assyr. Gram.*, p. 38), פֵּרֵשׂ (Job 29:6), 'spread out,' for *פֵּרֵשׂ =
فرش (according to Růžička, *KD*, p. 180). In Coptic we have
similar phenomena, as ⲥⲱϣϥ for *ḥšf* (q.v.) and ⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ < *wšḫ*,
ϣⲛⲉ, 'suddenly,' for *šḫnt*. It is difficult to say whether these
cases are due to metathesis or dissimilation; cf. شرس (like شمس),
whence *sirêšu*, Assyr. *šabâsu* and *sabâšu*.

39. *wši*, 'saw' = وسى, 'shave' (*LA*, XX, 270: الوسى الحلق
اوسيت الشيَّ اذا حلقته بالموسى). To the same stem belongs *šš*,
'razor' (Borchardt, *ÄZ*, XLII, 78 f.), corresponding to موسى, with
the denominative ماس, 'shave,' with which Ember has combined
mꜣs, 'blade' (in the Pyramid Texts; note the partial assimilation to
the *m!*). Formerly Ember combined *wši* with وشر, ⲱϣⲉ:, 'saw'
(Assyr. *uašâru*, 'cut'), but since the sibilant excludes this he now
connects Eg. *šꜥ*, 'cut,' with وشر; *ꜥ* for *r* is common. It is possible
that وسى is related to اسى, 'leave' (cf. Assyr. *muššuru*), whence
'leavings,' specialized in اسى and Eth. *tĕꜣsît* (Dillmann, p. 753).
I will not undertake to decide whether اسا, *asû*, 'save, help, sup-
port,' belongs here; اسّ, *uššušu* has a different sibilant, which
Dillmann could not know.

40. *wšb*, 'answer'—see *šbi*.

41. *wt*, 'oasis'—see on *ꜣ*.

42. *wt*, 'wrap, wind' = طوى (which Brugsch wished to combine
with *dꜣi*); cf. *wḏ* = צָוָה .

43. *wtt*, 'serpent' (especially in names of snake-goddesses *Rnn-wtt*,
ꜥb-wtt) = طوط, 'serpent' (also 'bat,' as a variant of وطواط), from
تحوى; تلوى, 'coil,' and לְוָיָה; تطوى , 'coil up, of a snake'; cf.

(cf. 'coil' from _colligere;_ Haupt, _AJSL_, XXIII, 228) and حِبّة ,
הֵירָא ; ʿrt, _q.v._, etc. This is not the place to discuss the Phoenician
Taavt.

44. _wḍb_, 'turn,' is to be connected with جاوب , اجاب , 'reply,
answer' (Aram. אגֵ״ב): cf. _wšb, q.v.; ʿni_, 'turn,' Assyr. _enû_, 'change,
suppress' (ענה , 'be poor, humble'=عنا ; for development cf. عمل ,
'be changed, become poor'), ענה , 'answer'; همل , _abâlu_ (cf. on
iwᶜ); ἀμείβω, _replico_, 'fold over, reply.'[1] As the Egyptian clearly
preserves the fundamental meaning, we must distinguish between
two roots _ḡb_, one meaning 'dig' (جبّ , etc.), the other 'vault, bend'
(originally identical? cf. _kr_, 'dig, be round'); cf. قبّ , كفّ . _kapû_,
kapâpu, etc. Eg. _wḍb_, 'bank, shore,' can hardly be connected with
وجب , 'set of the sun' (cf. the cases cited under _špr_), since the latter
is probably partial assimilation for وقب , synonymous in several
meanings, itself denominative from _u̯aqb_, 'cavity, grotto,' and mean-
ing 'enter' (cf. غرب , בוא , of the sun), Mehri _u̯eqôb_=دخل (Bittner,
WZKM, XXVII, 129). We must explain it, with Ember, as
'boundary, edge,' like _limêtu_ from _la u̯û_, لوى , or عَنَّى , 'side.'

45. _pii_, 'flea,' may be compared with فلى , 'remove lice,' which
is naturally denominative. فلى is also used of hunting for fleas
(برعوث).

46. _ptr_, 'see'=فطر , פטר , _paṭâru_, 'split, sever'; Eth. ፈጠረ :
means 'create,' like ברא and خلق (properly 'cut, fashion').[2] There
are a great many words in all languages which exhibit the develop-
ment 'cut,' or 'pierce, penetrate,' or 'distinguish, see'; cf. e.g., برى ,
'cut'=_barû_, 'see'; _baçâru_, 'cut'=بصر , 'see'; δείκνυμι, etc.

47. _fq̱_, 'reward'=ثقل , שׁקל , _šaqâlu_, originally 'suspend' (Assyr.
šuqallulu, Eth. ሰቀለ :, causative of _ql_, 'be light'), hence 'weigh,
weigh out, pay.' For analogous developments see under _iwᶜ_,
'reward.' The interchange between _f_ and _θ_ is common (_ZDMG_,
LXIV, 634; _BA_, I, 43, etc.); in this case we may have a dissimila-
tion caused by the dental _l_.

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[1] The priority in combining _wḍb_ and اجاب belongs to Ember.

[2] The word _ptr_ in the commentaries to religious texts has nothing to do with פתר ,
פשׁר , as has been supposed, but means 'what is this?'—a compound of the demonstra-
tive pronoun _pw_ and the interrogative particle _trí_ (Gardiner, _RT_, XXXIII, 71).

48. *mȝṯ*, 'red granite' = مكر (امكرّ, 'be red'), and means there-fore, in case the etymology is correct, 'redstone.' The hills of red sandstone hemming the valley in were called *ṯ dšrt*, 'the red (country).' Later *mȝṯ* seems to have become the generic word for 'granite' (cf. Wendel, *Bau- und Edelsteine* [Leipzig, 1888], pp. 66–73). I am inclined to consider مكر a transposition of כָּבֵר, 'be dark' (perhaps related ultimately to אָכַם, 'be black' = Eg. *km*, Ember). For the development 'red, brown, dark,' and the reverse, cf. on *nḥśi;* note that *sâmu* means both 'red' and 'dark,' and that *adummatu* (= אָדֹום) is 'dark red (blood),' opposite of *šarqu* (= *dšr?* cf. on *ntš*). Assyr. *sâmtu* affords no parallel, as it certainly does not mean "red stone" (cornaline, porphyry), but 'malachite' (Kugler, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1904, Parts 4–5; *GUG*, however, is not *ḤA+URUD* but *ZA+GUL*, 'stone'+'carve'), the Hebrew שֹׁהַם, which Myres has shown to mean 'malachite.' As has been pointed out, the stem is سهم, 'mark with bands or rays' (*sâmtu* < *šâmtu* under the influence of the sonant labial, which often changes *š* to *s* in Assyr.); malachite is sometimes most beautifully banded. Since malachite frequently occurs in botryoidal formation, whence the Sumerians gave it the name *girim*, 'fruit' (= *inbu*, עֵנָב), I would suggest that Eg. *mfkȝṯ* be connected with אֶשְׁכֹּול, اثكال, عثكول, 'cluster of grapes,' βότρυς, from the stem ثكل; cf. *fqȝ* = ثقل; the *f* may have arisen through dissimilation.[1] Just as *sâmtu* occurs in con-stant association with *uknû*, 'lapis lazuli,' so *mfkȝṯ* is found in paral-lelism with *ḥšbḏ*. Assyr. *uknû* may be connected, according to Jensen's suggestion, with κύανος, 'lapis lazuli' (Theophrastos, περὶ λίθων, 55); κυάνεος means 'blue, indigo, black,' like *uknû* (cf. Sp. *amarillo*, 'yellow,' from عنبرى, 'amber [colored]'), 'blue, violet, indigo,' replaced sometimes by *daʾmu*, 'dark' (= ادم, 'black, dark green').[2] Possibly *ḥšbḏ* is connected with اكحم, 'black' (for

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[1] Since malachite was much used in the preparation of green stibium, Ember may be correct in combining *mfkȝṯ* with פוּךְ, 'stibium,' connected with فلك, פָּךְ, 'crush, pul-verize.' Eg. *mśdmt*, 'stibium' (*kuḥl*, or powdered antimony), whence Ar. *iṯmid*, Ember has happily referred to دمّ, 'anoint eye with collyrium,' from دمّ, 'smear.'

[2] Foucart (*PSBA*, XXXII, 113) says that the modern *fellâḥîn* use *iswid* (أسود, 'black') for 'sky blue.'

secondary ج cf. Ember on *bḥs*, 'calf'=بحرج, *ÄZ*, LI, 110, n. 4; *ḫśbḏ* is certainly an old word, though first mentioned in the reign of Saḥurêᶜ, according to Sethe). سخم is connected with Assyr. *suḫḫumu*, 'maltreat' (Code of Ḥammurabi); cf. تسخّم, 'hate' (cherish black feelings), and سخيمة, 'malevolence' (cf. also Ar. *ẓálima*, 'be black,' *ẓálama*, 'abuse, oppress'; *ẓalm*, 'snow-whiteness,' is antiphrasis). While Syr. אתשׂחם צׂיד means 'be offended at,' שׂחֵמָא, 'tawny, black,' is evidently سخم, 'be black,' which thus has a different sibilant from سخم. Syr. סחם, 'oppress,' clearly belongs with سخم and *saḫâmu*, of which Heb. חמס is evidently a transposition (like *mašâdu* and שׂמד, Haupt, Bauer)—at last we have the etymology of חמס![1] Ember is probably right in combining חמס with *śḥm*, which would thus be directly connected with سخم, but cf. *s.v. śḥm* for another possibility.

49. *Mnw*, Min of Koptos. I would suggest that the ithyphallic god, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes, is in name as well as functions the analogue of Erôs and Kâma-dêva. The stem is then منى, 'emit semen (man)'=منّى, امنى, while *minâ, manîị* (منى) is *sperma génitale viri aut mulieris*. That the word is proto-Semitic appears from Assyr. *minû*, synonym of *râmu* (رثم, Barth, *mri*, Ember); *minû, munnû* have the force of "jouir d'une femme," as Thureau-Dangin has pointed out (*RA*, XI, 153), being used specifically of sexual intercourse. Several other words from the same stem have been pointed out in Egyptian by Ember and Aḥmed-Bey Kamâl, the well-known Egyptian archaeologist (*RT*, XXIV, 17 f.), the goddess *Mnit*=المنوت, *mni*, 'to die,' and مَنّى, 'death,' etc. In the latter case the connection, however, is not direct; منى means properly 'fate' (what is meted out), while *mni*='reach the end of the journey' (lit. 'moor the ship'). The primary meaning of the

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[1] Eth. ዐመፀ ፡ , 'be unjust, oppress,' has nothing to do either with חמס (Dillmann), or חמץ, *ḥamáçu* (Dillmann, *GB¹⁶*), but is transposition of *ዐፀመ ፡ , عظم, 'be hard, severe, great' (like شلّ), whence ዐፅም ፡ and the other words for 'bone.' Here belongs further Assyr. *emêçu* (cf. Muss-Arnolt, *s.v. amáçu*); note that *GB¹⁶* has withdrawn the impossible combination with עצם - עמץ ‑ غمض .

root seems to be 'stretch, make firm' (cf. مِن , אָבֵן = *imn*, 'conceal,'[1] *mn*, etc.) whence مِنى , *manû*, 'fix, allot, count,' and *mni*, 'fix, fasten, moor.' From the sense 'stretch' comes 'desire' (like ȝ*wi* = אָוָה , etc., Ember), Ar. تَمَنّى , whence 'be lustful, satisfy lust.'

50. *mẖr*, 'granary,' may be combined with خمر , 'cover, hide.' The *bît ḫamri ša Adad*, 'treasure house of Adad,' is frequently met with in late Assyrian contracts. In Aramaic הֲמִיר is 'pile, heap up.' Originally *mẖr*, *ḫamru* referred perhaps to the subterranean caches or silos where grain was stored and carefully covered to prevent discovery (בוּר = 'grain pit'; cf. Haupt, *AJSL*, XXVI, 11). Assyr. *bît nakamti*, 'treasure house,' from *nakâmu*, was combined by Haupt (*ZA*, II, 266) with كوم , 'heap up,' and كومة , 'heap of grain'; cf. Eg. ʿḥʿ, 'treasure' (Δ2O), lit. 'heap' (Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 25). Eg. šnʿ 'granary,' may be combined with *suġla* = عرمة , עֲרֵמָה , 'heap of grain.' The original meaning of شغل is 'excavate, deepen,' hence 'sich vertiefen' (cf. غرق , شرع), 'busy one's self.' The root meaning appears clearly in Eth. ሐቀጸ ፡ , 'engrave, carve,' and שָׁעַל , 'hollow hand,' Assyr. *šêlu* (= Sum. *buru*), 'cavity, pit, vagina.'[2] خمر , 'ferment,' is entirely distinct from our خمر and is possibly a transposition of *marâḫu*;[3] cf. أمرخ , 'soften dough with water'; مرخ , 'oil,' is Eg. *wrẖ*, according to Ember.

51. *Mśẖnt*, goddess of birth. In the Papyrus Westcar she appears along with Isis, Nephthys, and *Ḥqt* to assist in the accouchement of *Rd-ḏdt*. Elsewhere the four *Mśẖnwt*, or birth-goddesses, are

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[1] The combination of *imn* with אָמַן is due to Dr. Steinbach; Ember now compares *mn* with بِن , 'remain,' dissimilation for *مِن (?).

[2] The Heb.-Aram. should be, according to the phonetic laws, שָׁעַל . But in connection with an ע (as with the ק) there is a tendency to favor š rather than s; cf. שָׁעָה = تشع (*Datinah*, p. 499) and שָׁנַע = جمع (where the ʿ also has an influence; cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, LVII, 418). However, שָׁעָה may = أسعى , 'to seek,' with the same meaning as šʾû.

[3] I would explain *marâḫu*, *VB*, 6, No. 260, ll. 18, 35, as 'rot.' L. 16 we read: *umma šú-ma nazbaltu^m mâdat ul ša nasâdi^m ubaṭṭiʾâni-ma šê imtâraḫ* = "Thus he says (to me), 'It is too much for transportation; it cannot be supported (سنل).' While he has been putting me off (بطل), the grain is spoiling." L. 35 has: *šeʾa^m šuâti litbalâni-ma lâ immar[a]ḫ* = 'Let them carry away the grain so that it may not spoil' (the *nifʿal* will have the force 'be made to spoil'; cf. *HW* on *nagarruru*, *niqilpû*.

Tfnt, Nût, Isis, and Nephthys. As Spiegelberg has shown (*ZA*, XIV, 269 ff.) the name *Mśḥnt* is derived from *mśḥn*, 'birth brick' (*dbt n mśt*), lit. 'place of birth' (*iśt mśt*), which corresponds to the אבנים (there were two bricks) of Exod. 1:16.[1] Spiegelberg's derivation of *mśḥn* from *śḥni* is grammatically untenable, and the comparison with שׁעֵן, 'support,' must now, of course, be given up.[2] Since the stem *śḥn must have meant 'be in travail, bear,' I would combine it with *ḥarâśu*, ሐረሰ :, خرس (our meaning survives in clear traces), 'be in travail, give birth.' The original meaning of the stem is 'bind,' Assyr. *ḥarâśu*, 'fasten,' חרשׁ, خرس, 'be dumb' (i.e., 'tongue-tied,' Sum. *eme-dib*); for the development, here privative, cf. 'entbinden.' The transposition may have taken place, as often in Egyptian, in the noun *mśḥn* < *mḥnś*; *ḥnś* < *ḥrś (see for *n* = *r*, *s.v.* *śnd*).

52. *mdḥ* (so Sethe reads "3qḥ," Erman, *Glossar*, p. 3), 'hew, carpenter' = חצב, 'hew' (wood, stone); حصم (*GB*[16]) = ضرط, 'break wind' (*LA*, XV, 26) while انكسر = اخصم. محف has certainly no connection with חצב, but meant primarily 'to line,' hence 'write in lines,' Eth. ጸሐፈ :, Assyr. *ṣipu*, 'written document' (Ungnad), precisely like كتب, כתב, 'write in lines' (Haupt, *AJSL*, XXXIII, 45); محف is to be connected with صف, 'to line, line up' ('set type' in modern Arabic), and the sense 'engrave' is quite secondary. Assyr. *ḥaçâbu*, 'cut,' is خضم, and has no connection with חצב. A stem parallel to the latter is, however, חטב, ሐጠበ :, *حطب, 'hew wood.'

53. *nr*, 'shepherd' = Eth. ኖላዊ :, *nôlâuî*, 'shepherd,' from the root *nwl, 'stretch out,' which appears in Arabic as نول, 'reach out, extend, give' (like Assyr. *qâśu*, *iqîś*, which I would combine with قمس, 'measure,' like *madâdu*; cf. also قوس, 'stretch'), تنوّل, 'reach out for, obtain.' Closely related is Assyr. *na'âlu*, 'lie down, rest,' which corresponds to Heb. נהל (see Haupt, *AJSL*,

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[1] Birth-bricks were also employed in Babylonia for the same purpose, as we know from the myth of "Ea and Atraḫasis"; cf. Jensen, *KB*, 6, 1, 543, who unfortunately goes elsewhere for an explanation. As a result Gressmann also misunderstands the text.

[2] שׁעֵן, 'support.' Ember regards as a causative of عون, 'help.' He is inclined to connect *mśḥn* with *sḥnt*, 'support,' for which we have not discovered any Semitic affiliations.

XXII, 195 ff.). Just as *naʾâlu* is a synonym of *rabâçu*, so נֵהֵל =
הרביץ (cf. Cant. 1:7, איכה תרעה איכה תרביץ, where הרביץ
refers to the noon rest of the sheep). נֵהֵל thus comes to mean
'pasture' (Isa. 40:11), while انهل means primarily 'halt,' then
'water' (the camels), whence نهل , 'drink' (see Haupt, *ibid.*, p. 198).
Primarily, we may suppose, *nôlâuî* was equivalent to בֵירִיץ or
منهل . *Pyr. Texts*, 244*b*, we have the *nrw Ḥr*, cattle of Horus,
originally 'flock, herd,' like עֵדֶר = Eg. *idr* (Ember). Eg. *nr*, 'be
strong, vigorous,' is like *qni*, 'be strong, brave,' from *qni*, 'embrace,
take hold of,' = קנה , قنى , *qanû*, 'acquire' (Ember).

54. *nḥbt*, 'flower, blossom' = Ar. *lahbat*, 'flame'; cf. *zahr*, 'flower,'
from زهر , 'shine, be brilliant' (of fire, etc.), נִצָּה , 'blossom,' from
נצץ , 'sparkle, shine.' According to Haupt, *âru*, 'blossom,' is אוֹר ,
'light'; *ûru*, 'day' (*urru*), is אוּר , 'fire.' An analogous case is Eg.
ḥrrt (ϨΡΗϤΕ), 'blossom,' and حر , 'be hot, bright, pure, free.'
For *ḥ* = *h* cf. on *tpḥt*.

55. *nḥp*, 'make pottery,' properly 'turn (on a potter's wheel),'
like *qd* and *paḥâru*, which, as Ember has shown, exhibit this develop-
ment. The root is doubtless *lp*, 'turn, wind' (cf. *s.v. inp*), so we
may compare لحف , 'wrap, wind.' Ember has combined *nḥp*,
'grieve, mourn,' with *ⲛⲟϩⲃⲉ:* and لهف , 'lament, be wretched.'

56. *nḥśi*, 'negro,' is most naturally derived from **nḥś*, 'be
dusky, black,' which I would compare tentatively with שׂחֹר , 'be
black, dark' (also 'dusky' of the skin, Cant. 1:5), also of magic,
سحر ; cf. under *ḥkꜣ*. I would combine שׂחֹר with احم , 'tawny-
colored,' partial assimilation for **اسحم* ; cf. صفر for *siparru*, 'copper'
(Haupt) and حصم for **حسم* = *esêru* (see Haupt, *BA*, I, 19, n. 27).
שַׁחַר , *sáḥar*, *šeru*, 'dawn,' mean thus primarily *Morgenröte*; cf. per-
haps شقر , שׂוֹרֵק , **šarâqu*, 'be red' (probably Eg. *dšr*), and شرق ,
'rise, of the sun.' For the shift in colors cf. *s.v. mꜣt*, and for *n* = *r*,
s.v. šnd.

57. *nḥi*, 'lament' = *anâḥu*, אנח , 'lament,' connected with انخ
and نوح . There is a large class of similar onomatopoetic words,
אנה אנק , נאק , *nâqu*, etc.; cf. on *ḥqt*, 'frog.'

58. *nḫn* (imperfect reduplication, for **nḫnḫ*), 'child, infant,' is to be connected with Assyr. *lâḫu*, 'shoot, sprout'; for original meaning cf. on *wnḫ*.

59. *nḫt*, 'be strong, firm' (Coptic N̄ϣOT, 'hard, force, violence') = نشط, 'fasten, make fast' (cord), 'be active, vigorous, fat' (of cattle; i.e., 'stout, firm').

60. *ntš*, 'pour, sprinkle' = *natâku*, נתך, 'pour' (for the related *latâku* see *JAOS*, XXXVI, 230 f.). Eg. *ntš* stands by dissimilation for **ntṭ* (*ntč*) like Palest. Arabic *meštûb* < *mäčtûb* < مكتوب (*KD*, 144), etc. Similarly, *dšr*, 'red,' may be اشقر = שָׂרֻק = *šarqu* (see above on *nḫśi*). In Coptic we have again metathesis, ΤΡΟϣ. Eg. *dšr* < **dšr* (like Syr. *dašša* for *ǧašša*, Mor. *dezz* for *ǧazza*, neo-Syriac *disra*, 'bridge,' for *ǧisra*, جسر, *KD*, p. 178) < **ǧšr* < **qšr* < *šqr*. The partial assimilation of a *q* to an *r* is very common; cf. *garânu* (גֹּרֶן, originally = עֲרֵמָה; cf. on *mḫr*) = *qarânu*, قرن. Eg. *ᶜꜣ*, 'drown,' is perhaps غرق, 'drown'; cf. also *s.v.* *grg*.

61. *rmṭ*, 'man' (*rmṭt*, 'people, mankind,' like *auêlûtu*) = גֶּבֶר, גַּבְרָא (instead of *imruᵓ*, בָּרִיָא, *ÄZ*, LI, 118, No. 74), Ar. *ǧabr*, Eth. *gabr*, 'servant' (whence denominative *gabra*, 'work'). At first sight the combination looks no doubt highly adventurous. However, the stem גבר, جبر, *gabâru* (*gabru*) is surely partial assimilation of the synonymous כבר, 'be mighty' = Ar. *kábura*, 'be big, fat, stout' = ħበረ፡, 'be glorious, illustrious' = *kabâru*, 'be large, fat, strong.' For the development of meaning cf. امرؤ, 'man' = בְּרִיא, 'hero, lord,' from the stem בְּרָא = מְרָא, 'be fat'; *márᵓa* = 'be healthy, wholesome'; *marû* = 'be fat' (cf. the formula for sacrificial animals, *alpê kabrûti immerê marûti*, 'fat oxen and sheep'). Sum. *nitaǧ*, 'male,' seems to mean primarily 'large, fat' (cf. on *nitaǧ* = *marû* *SGl*, p. 202); Eth. ብእሲ፡, *auêlu*, *vir* show analogous developments. According to Ember, *ddꜣ*, 'be fat' = جدل, גדל, 'be large.' The transposition should afford no stumbling-block; cf. the many metatheses in the group *brk-rkb-krb-bkr*.[1]

62. *rdi*, 'give, cause' = *redû*, ידד, ردى. As an article on the stem *redû* is appearing in *ZA*, I will refrain from a detailed discussion. Ember has blazed the way by combining *rd*, 'foot, leg'

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[1] A study of these stems is in my hands, but is not ripe for publication.

with רדה, 'tread,' Ar. *mirdât,* 'leg of an animal,' and *rd,* 'grow, flourish' (to be distinguished sharply from *rwḏ,* 'be firm') with ردى. To the group ورد , رذ , رود , ردى , all from the root *rd,* 'tread, use the foot,' belongs also Eg. *rwd,* 'flight of steps' (cf. on *ḫtiw*). Eg. *rd,* 'foot' appears in Assyr. as *rittu,* 'paw, hand.'[1] The Sem. stem *rdi* seems to have had originally both an intransitive meaning 'tread, walk, go, flow,' and a transitive 'bring,' primarily, we may suppose, 'walk in one's footsteps, follow after, drive, pursue, convey,' etc. Hence it means 'bring, produce, increase,' and 'impel, produce, cause.' For parallels to the development 'lead' or 'bring,' 'cause, make,' cf. under *iri;* also 'execute' from *exsequor.* In Assyrian we find the use of *redû* as 'bring, add (*ruddû*), produce, cause' illustrated in a number of passages: e.g., in the proverb *kaspu^m kaspa^m lirdî* = 'let the money produce money' (at interest); Šamši-Adad III, col. 2, 9–13 has *Nergal ina kaškaši^m išitašu* (*ešû,* 'be chaotic,' is غثو, as is known) *u išiti mâtišu lirtâdi* = 'May Nergal mightily bring about his ruin and the ruin of his land.' Eg. *rd,* 'grow,' is ردى, 'multiply, increase,' and Eth. ረድአ:, 'draw interest.' *Rdi,* 'give,' is a closely related development to 'bring, cause'; cf. *leisten* and Gothic *laistjan,* 'follow.' In early Babylonian 'bring, give' is the most frequent meaning of *redû.*

63. *Ḥᶜpi,* 'Nile'—see the introduction.

64. *ḥb,* 'grieve, be in distress' = حاب (*ḥaub,* 'grief, misfortune,' تحوّب, 'be afflicted,' etc.). The Semitic stem is hard to fix, since at least two have fallen together in Aramaic, and خوب and حوب are intimately related in meaning, so closely that mutual contamination seems certain. חָב, 'be in debt, transgress,' whence حاب, 'transgress,' is perhaps originally connected with חָב, 'be overcome, subdued' = خيب, 'fail, be disappointed.' חָב, 'to be in distress,'

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[1] Cf. Holma, *Körperteile,* pp. 119–21 (*rittu* is certainly not connected with أحذ, and ኣፍሐ:, 'palm, sole,' as Holma suggests), and Sargon's *Eighth Campaign,* 1. 58: *eli erbi rittêšunu iptdšilû kima kalbî* = 'on their four paws they crawled like dogs.' *Rittu* < *ridtu,* like *kittu* < *kintu* (כון), and *qâtu,* 'hand' < *qantu* (from *qanû,* קנה, 'grasp' [Haupt]; cf. קָמַה and *³mm,* 'grasp,' Ember): for the treatment of the feminine ending as the third stem consonant see *VG.* § 227 E. Assyr. *pašâlu,* 'go on all fours like an animal,' may be connected with ፈለሰ:, 'wander' (contrast *GB¹⁴, s.v.* פלם), with which one is tempted to combine פֶּרֶשׁ, *fáras,* 'horse' (cf. פרס and *sôsdya,* 'walk, wander' = *ššî, q.v.*).

is evidently either حوب or خوب, defined (*LA*, I, 354) as افتقر, 'be poor, wretched.' خاب is used with special reference to distress caused by hunger (cf. *ḥqr*, 'be hungry' = حقر, 'be poor,' for which there are many parallels, Ember).

65. *ḥsp*, 'district, nome' = ⲫⲩⲗⲏ:, 'tribe, people' (φυλή, ὄχλος, ἔθνος); Ar. *ḥizb*, 'party of men, confederation (جماعة الناس والاحزاب), tribe,' also 'part, portion,' from حزب, 'divide' = ⲫⲏⲡ:, probably a proto-Semitic partial assimilation for حسب, ⲫⲁⲡ:, הׁשׁב (*epêšu*, Eg. *ḥšb*), 'count, reckon,' primarily 'divide.' For *p < b* cf. on *inp*, above.

66. *Ḥqt*, the frog-goddess. Eg. *ḥqt*, 'frog' may be partial assimilation for **ᶜqt*: cf. Ar. *ᶜaqq*, 'gurgling of water,' etc.; نعق ذعق, 'croak' (of a raven); نق, 'croak' (of a frog, etc.; *naqqâq*, 'frog,' is 'the croaker'). Ember has identified the *ᶜq* bird with Ar. *ᶜâq*. Another name of the frog, *qrr* = ⲔⲢⲞⲨⲢ (*Paqrûru* = *Pȝ-qrr*), has long been combined with قرّة, 'frog,' Syr. קרורא, 'toad' (the prefixed ר, as elsewhere, is perhaps dissimilated for an original ל as in עקרב, עטלף, etc.). *Ḥqt*, 'beer' (perhaps *ḥnqt*) may mean 'the malted drink,' like Assyr. *sirêšu* (Haupt).[1] The stem would then be حلك, ⲫⲁⲫ:, הׁדׁק, 'rub, scrape'; the partial assimilation may appear in ⲫⲁⳅ:, 'gnash the teeth' (حاكّة, 'tooth,' is 'the chewer, masher'). Eg. *tš*, 'mash,' also 'prepare grain for brewing' (Gardiner, *RT*, XXXII, 220) may be طوش, 'crush,' or جش, 'grind, mash' (cf. on *ntš* for the phonetic change involved).

67. *ḥkȝ*, 'magic' = حكل, 'be doubtful, obscure' (הכליל, Assyr. *eklitu*, 'darkness'). Transposed doublets are حلك, كلح, the basic meaning being 'be dark, black.' For the development cf. with Ember سحر, 'practice magic, enchant,' primarily 'do darkly' (cf. on *nḥši*). In Egypt magic was κατ' ἐξοχήν the mysterious art, as it set up the most extravagant and impossible claims. In Babylonia its pretensions were much more modest, since it was there really an element in the art of medicine. The idea that even the great gods might

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[1] Ar. شرس, 'be rough, oppress,' seems to reflect the stem of both *sirêšu* and סׂרׇים, 'eunuch,' as Haupt has shown.

be swayed by specially efficacious formulae is foreign to Mesopotamia, so far as the monuments indicate. A possible connection between *grḫ*, 'night,' and حكل = كلم, by assuming partial assimilation of the *k* to the following sonant, is appropriately doubtful.

68. *ḫtm*, 'perish' (*šḫtm*, 'destroy') = *ḫáṭima*, 'be broken' (said especially of brittle objects); *ḫáṭama* is 'break, destroy'; حطام الدنيا are 'the vanities of this world.' The usual combination of *ḫtm* with *tm*, 'be at an end, perish' (חתם) is surely erroneous.

69. *ḫi*, 'placenta'—see on *šwi*.

70. *ḫmi* = خمل, 'be feeble, obscure' (الخامل الخفيّ الساقط الذى لا نباهة له; also خامل is used of a weak voice). A similar development is found in אין, "nonexistence," which is probably, with Gesenius and Haupt, to be combined with اين, etc., 'be weak' (cf. under *wni*). Eg. *ḫmi* means primarily 'be weak of intelligence,' whence 'be unable, not do,' a development paralleled by *rḫ*, *können* (connected with γιγνώσκω) and *kennen*, etc. Eg. *tm* (*r tm* = לבלתי) means 'be whole, at an end, perish,' like בלה, whence *ina báli*, Eth. ᵓenbala, 'without,' Eg. *m ḫm*, etc. Eg. *ᶜnḏ*, 'not to have, not to do,' from *ᶜnḏ*, 'be whole,' Ar. علج (Ember), exhibits the same semantic evolution.

71. *ḫmt*, 'three'—see introduction.

72. *ḫnm*, 'smell' = *خمن, 'stink' (*ḫáman*, a stink), whence by assimilation חנם = استخن, like Hᵗᵃᵐ : = *zanânu*, 'rain' (Heb. זרם is dissimilated). Ar. خامن الذكر is explained by خامل الذكر, but means presumably in the first place 'foul of fame.' One might be tempted to compare خمن, 'conjecture, surmise' (= حدس, حسب, ورُمْ) with *sapere* and *erêšu*, عرف (for *عرث, according to Haupt), but Abû Ḥâtim states that خمن in this sense is a Persian loan-word (اصلها فارسية من قولهم خمانا على الظنّ والحدس :299 ,LA, XVI). According to Lane, خمانا is a mistake for كمان, 'bow,' used metaphorically, but this idea is hardly necessary; see Vullers, *Lex. Pers.*, I, 721a, on خمان (whence كمان) and خمانا.

73. *ḫnš*, 'stink, rot' = خشم, 'stink, be large, of the nose.'[1] For the partial assimilation cf. Assyr. *ḫanšu*, 'five,' for *ḫamšu*; *šunšu*, 'his

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[1] Hardly to be combined with خشل, 'be shabby, vile.'

name,' for *šumšu*, etc. (cf. also on *ḫnt*, below). Müller's combination with זְחַה and *צִיחַ (GB, s.v.) is also improbable; צִיחַ belongs, as Barth has pointed out, with صنخ (for the root cf. صن , 'spoil, rot'), modifications of which (by partial assimilation) are سنخ and زنخ , זָנַח .

74. *ḫnt*, 'nose' = חֹטֶם, *ḫuṭṭimmu*ᵓ *ḫaṭm*, 'nose, snout,' whence, denominative, خطم , *ḫaṭâmu*, 'muzzle' (Sargon, *Huitième campagne*, l. 9). For the partial assimilation of the *m* to the following dental, very common in Assyrian, cf. Coptic ϭⲚⲦϥ, for *gmtf*, *ḫnt*, 'skin-bottle' = חֵמֶת (Ember).[1] Similarly, according to Haupt, דֶּשֶׁן, 'ashes,' is connected with سماخ (*JBL*, XXXVI, 317). Another Eg. word for 'nose,' *šrt*, may be combined (also by Ember) with خر , 'snore,' with the rhyme formations شخر and نخر ; in modern Arabic *minḫar* has become the ordinary word for 'nose' (cf. Assyr. *naḫiru* and Ar. *nuḫra*, 'snout'). In Coptic the old root *ḫr* appears as ϩⲣⲟϩⲣⲟ, 'snort' = خرخر .

75. *ḫnd*, 'step' (cf. *ḫndw*, 'throne,' and *ḫtiw*, q.v.), 'walk, pass, cross' = חָדַל, 'cease' (i.e., 'pass by'), which I would further combine with خلد , 'last, endure, remain' ('pass' in a place, 'pass,' of time, etc.).[2] The combination cited in GB¹⁶, s.v. חדל , خذل , 'forsake,' حذل , 'treat with injustice,' are very improbable. As parallels cf. مر , 'pass,' and استمر , 'continue'; עָמַד , 'endure, remain' (Jer. 48:11; Ps. 102:27, etc.), 'cease, stand still' (Gen. 29:35; II Kings 4:6, etc.); and the two cases in Tigre cited by Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 92, on Littmann's authority. For other cases of antiphrasis in Eg. cf. on ᶜᶜ*w* and *thn*.

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[1] It is hardly probable that حميت is connected with חֵמֶת , unless a loan-word. Ember thinks that חֵמֶת , *ḫnt* may be connected with خام , 'skin' (according to *T A*, however, of Persian origin; خام , 'raw, untanned, of skins', Vullers, I, 646) and خيمة , 'tent, booth.'

[2] דָּר , דּוֹר , עוֹלָם , חֶלֶד in יושבי חלד (cf. *nišê apâti*) exhibits a development like ϭⲰϣⲦ : , originally 'enduring residence, settlement,' as distinguished from 'nomadic camp'; cf. the contrast between, اهل الوبر and اهل المدر . Collitz has recently combined Lat. *saeculum* (cf. Lucretius' *saecula terrarum*) with *situs* and κτίζω.

76. ḥḥ, 'neck' = *ḥiḥi (cf. ḥḥ, 'million' = *ḥiḥi) < *ḫrḫr, Assyr. ḫarurtu, 'throat,' which Holma has combined with Syr. חירושתא.[1] However, the stem is not חרש, 'be dumb, silent' (for primary meaning cf. on Mšḫnt), but חרר; Syr. חירושתא is a loan from *ḫaruštu, like maštu for martu, maštakal for martakal, etc. To the same stem belongs ḫarri pî (contrast Holma). The root ḫr (ḫarāru, خار) means 'be contracted'; perhaps ultimately identical with ḫr, 'fall,' the primary meaning of both being 'dig, sink' (Haupt, AJSL, XXIII, 249 ff.). For the development 'hole' or 'gulch,' 'throat,' and the reverse, cf. gorge, Ar. ḫaur, 'gulch, gorge'; mablaᶜ, 'throat, gorge, sink' = bulᶜûm; خانق, ḫinqu, 'narrow pass, cañon of river'; ḫarrânu (whence Sum. ĝaran), 'street,' properly 'narrow passage, alley,' like sûqu (opposite of רהב, rêbitu). Cf. also ḫurru, 'hole, cave,' and غار (מְעָרָה), 'cave,' غرغر, 'to gargle.'

77. ḫśr, 'repel, drive away' = خسل, 'reject with contempt.' The original meaning is preserved by خزل (with partial assimilation), 'separate, hinder, repel' (cf. ḫśf, 'repel, put away,' which I should combine with فسخ, 'disjoint, separate, abrogate'). The stem חסל, 'destroy (locusts),' also belongs here, but not Aram. חשל, 'crush' = Assyr. ḫašâlu (= הלש, 'be weak,' like دقّ, daqâqu). The stem خسر, חסר, Eth. ḫasra is probably quite distinct; its primary meaning is 'lose, fail.'

78. ḫt, 'wood, tree' (the hieroglyph represents a branch or bough) = ḫaṭṭu, 'staff, scepter,' primarily 'rod,' like חטר, ḫuṭartu, ḫiṭr, from the stem خطم.[2] Ḫt was originally something stuck or planted in the ground, from the stem ḫaṭâṭu, 'excavate' = خطّ, 'write (i.e., 'engrave'), furrow, dig' = Eg. ḫti, 'engrave' (whence ḫt, 'seal' = ḫtm = خطم, 'stop up,' while חתם, ختم are loans from Egyptian [?]). Eg. ḫt could also be compared to خوط, 'branch, rod'; LA, IX, 168, الخوط الغصن الناعم * * * وقبل هو كلّ قضبب.

79. ḫti, 'be behind, follow' (ḫt, 'behind, after') = خطو.[3] The semantic development is simple: 'go in one's footsteps, track, follow';

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[1] Körperteile, p. 42.

[2] Sum. ḫat (= PA – ḫaṭṭu), synonym of ĝišdur (> mudru, ĝidru), 'staff,' is either a Semitic loan or a simple coincidence, like חרש and χαράσσω, 'plow' and 'engrave.'

[3] I learn from Professor Ember that this combination had occurred to him several years ago, so the priority belongs to him.

cf. Assyr. *tebû*, 'go march'= تبع, 'follow, pursue'; *redû* (cf. on *rdi*), 'tread, go,' and 'follow, pursue'; *rapâdu*, 'roam, wander, go' (perhaps transposition of *parâdu*, whence *purîdu* = Eg. *pꜣd*, 'leg,' according to Ember) = רדף, 'chase, pursue'; Sum. *egir*, 'after,' connected, according to Haupt, with *gir*, 'foot.' Ar. خطا also develops the meaning 'overtake (tread on one's heels?), get ahead, outpass'; cf. *LA*, XVIII, 254, 9 f., وتخطّى الناس واختطاهم ركبهم وجاورهم.

80. *ḫtiw*, 'steps, terrace'= خطوة, 'step, pace';[1] cf. *rwd*, 'flight of steps' (*s.v. rdi*); דְּרַגָּא and the extended form דרגש, 'bed-steps'; Eth. ዐፀዉ : , 'stairs.'

81. *ḫtḫt*, 'stray, lose the way, be lost' (Coptic ϣⲟⲧϣⲧ, 'examine, investigate,' means evidently 'be in doubt'; cf. on *tnm* =طلب), is to be connected with הטא , خطى , 'err, sin' (cf. *errare* and ἁμαρτάνω, ἀμπλακίσκω), أخطأ , 'lose the way,' تخاطا , 'miss the mark' (of an arrow). With this root I would further combine Eth. ጠፈ : , 'persuade, seduce' (independently of Praetorius, *BA.*, I, 29, who ingeniously derives it from a noun with compensatory vocalic lengthening like הטא and *ḫîṭu* (Ar. *ḫiṭʾ*), a view which can hardly be correct in spite of the occurrence of a similar phenomenon in the *qêtâla* form, which Haupt explains like Assyr. *unêkir* for *unakkir*), Assyr. *ḫâṭu* (*iḫîṭ*), 'see, inspect' (cf. the Coptic).

82. *ḥꜥ*, 'ravish, dishonor'= הִלֵּל , 'profane, dishonor' (also sexually), properly 'loosen, make free, common, profane.' Ember has pointed out several cases of the stem حلّ in Egyptian: *ḥꜣt*, 'front, forehead, beginning' (cf. הֵחֵל and שׁרה , שׁרא , 'loosen,' while שׁוּרִי , *šurrû*, means 'begin'); *ḥꜣt*, 'grave' (cf. حَلَة , مَحَلّ , مَنْزِل , *ḥꜣt* refers to the final station of the body).[2] The stem حلّ , הלל , 'be hollow, pierce,' appears in several cases; e.g., *ḥꜣ*, 'lotus' (cf. above), *ḥꜣt*, 'body, slain' (הָלָל , Ember), and *ḥt*, 'belly, body' (cf. גּוּף , جاف , 'be hollow, pierce,' Ember). The palatal *ḥ* may represent either *ḥ* or *ḫ* (Ember).

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[1] Cf. preceding note.

[2] Here belongs also *ḥt*, 'house' (Ember), primarily then 'lodging place,' like Ar. *manzil*.

83. $ḫpȝ$, 'navel' = �common, *ḥenbert*, 'navel,' from the stem *ḥbr* (as ⲐⲦⲚⲦ :, 'skin-bottle' = Ar. *ğubb*, and ⲦⲦⳘⲘ :, 'brick,' from *ğbl*, جبل). The primary meaning of the word is 'cord' or 'knot,' like שׁר, Ar. *surr*, 'navel, umbilical cord,' from חבר, 'bind, fasten' = *ebêru*. חבר, 'be striped' (حبر, ⲀⲚⳘ:), is ultimately identical (cf. 'strap, strip, stripe'). For the *p* cf. on *inp*. It is not impossible that *ḫpȝ* may be a defective writing for **ḫnpȝ*, Coptic ⲤⲈⲖⲦⲈ, in which case the *n* is parasitic, like *ḥenbert* and Coptic ⲤⲈⲚⲔⲈ, 'beer,' for *ḥqt* (perhaps pronounced *ḥnqt* even in pyramid times). The Coptic *l* is etymologically a very unsafe guide, in spite of ⲖⲀⳘ = לשׁון, etc.

84. $ḫmś$, 'bow, bend' = خبت, 'be base, corrupt,' primarily 'be low,' as appears from *ḫabt*, 'sink,' and *ḫibta*, 'humility' (the ت has perhaps become ت under the influence of the preceding stop); خبت 'humble one's self,' would then be denominative. For $ś = θ$ cf. *bḫś*, 'hunt' (Müller, Ember) = بحث, 'search,' Heb. בקשׁ (*GB*, by partial assimilation to the שׁ).

85. $sȝw$, 'guard, take care, avert' = نذر, 'shun, oppose'; *zâru*, 'dislike, hate.' Closely connected with this stem is זהר, 'be careful, guard against.' The Heb. stems זור II and III (*GB*) perhaps belong together and have no connection with زور; for the meanings cf. Eg. *šnᶜ*, 'ward off, resist' = شنع, 'have aversion for,' belonging to the same root as שׂנא (Ember).

86. $sš$, 'nest' = *ḫîšu*, 'nest,' synonym of *abru* and *qinnu*, probably connected with Arab. *ḫišaš*, 'young birds,' etc., *ḫaššâ²*, 'nest of bees' (for *ḫîšu* < **ḫiššu* cf. *JAOS*, XXXVI, 230). The meaning of the root seems to be 'rustle, slip into' (cf. rhyme formation قشّ, **qasâšu* [*qiqqišu*, 'reed hut']). The phonetic development seems to be $ḫš > *śš > *śś > sš$; cf. on *wsš* and شخ. One is tempted to combine *sššt*, 'sistrum,' with خشخش, 'clink.'

87. $śȝ$—see *wśi*.

88. $śwtwt$ is structurally the causative of *wt* (*q.v.*) reduplicated, like *śdȝdȝ*, 'tremble' (see under *dȝdȝ*), etc. It should therefore have the primary force 'herumgehen, wend one's way,' etc. Professor Ember has suggested a comparison with שׁוט, but cf. *s.v. śti*.

89. *šb3*, 'star' = **šb3* (cf. *špt* < **špt*, 'lip'; *špr* [q.v.] from *špr*; *swr*, 'drink,' from **sbr* < **šbr* < *šbr* = شرب [Ember]: the change from *š* to *s* with a labial is very common in Assyrian, though curiously restricted to the sonant), to be connected with شب = Assyr. *šabâbu*, 'blaze, flame up'; cf. *kakkabu*, 'star,' for **kabkabu* (כּוֹכָב), from *kabâbu* = *šabâbu* (note rhyme formation). We may compare the Egyptian more directly to شبو. From the same root, with *h* inserted, as often, is شهب, whence *šihâb*, 'blaze, falling star.'[1]

90. *Šbk*, the crocodile god = Ar. *sámak*, 'fish.' When the Semites entered Egypt they naturally gave familiar names to the strange animals they found there (where already existing names were not borrowed). Thus the hippopotamus became *rr* (רִיר), 'pig,' and *db*, 'pig' (or 'bear,' דֹּב; Assyr. *ṭabû* or *ṭâbû* is 'the wallower'); the giraffe, *śr*, is (according to Ember) Ar. *ṭaur*, 'bubalus antelope, *wild bull' (שׁוֹר, *šûru*, 'the leaper, impregnator,' Haupt).[2] *Samak*, like תַּנִּין, may have connoted aquatic and amphibious monsters in general, though 'fish' is the original value. Perhaps we may connect it with سبك, سكب, 'pour out' (whence by partial assimilation سفك, שָׁפַךְ, *šapâku*), with reference to spawning; Sophus Bugge (Fick[4], p. 438) has derived ἰχθύς, etc., from the root *gheu*, 'pour,' comparing Norse *gjóta*, ('pour =) spawn.' The fact of spawning was, of course, well known (cf. the *Bûndahišu*, chap. 16), and the spawn of fish was a familiar illustration of fecundity (cf. Assyr. *mârê nûni* and *agargaru*), whence the fish was made the symbol of fecundity (cf. דָּגָה and נִין; the fish was sacred to Atargatis, Išhara). Also דָּג has the same origin; cf. دج, *'be misty' (دجم, 'be

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overcast, of the sky') and دجن 'be cloudy, rainy,' ادجن, 'continue raining,' and دجو, 'be overcast, dark'; the spawn of fish makes the water misty or milky in color (or the primary meaning of *dg* may have been 'sprinkle'). Eg. *rm*, 'fish,' may possibly be connected with *rmi*, 'weep' (? رمى, Ember)—hardly with عوم, as 'the swimmer,' *per excellentiam*. Some of these words may show a development like *hfn*, 'tadpole,' from حفل, 'flow' (Sethe), with reference to its teeming.

91. *špr*, 'arrive, reach' = شفر (for *š* < *š* cf. on *šb³*).[1]   The fundamental meaning is 'come to shore, beach,' like *arripare* > *arriver* and Assyr. *kašâdu* from *kišâdu*, 'bank' (see Haupt, *KAT²*, p. 506), a development which is obvious for such a country as Babylonia, where the rivers and canals were the arteries of communication, and even more so for Egypt. Eg. *špr* is thus denominative from (92) *špr*, 'rib,' primarily 'side, flank,' like Sum. *ti* = *çîlu*, 'side, rib'. Similarly شقر على = اشفى على, 'come to the edge of, be on the brink of,' is denominative from *šufr*, 'edge, brink' (*mišfar*, 'camel's lip') = סְפָרְאָ, 'shore, bank,' and *šáfan*, 'lip, edge, bank' (like *špt*, שָׂפָה, ሸፈር :, etc.); cf. Haupt, *JSOR*, I, 92.   Also Ar. *šaffara* = *šáfiṭa*, 'set, of the sun,' means 'arrive at the horizon, come to land' (after the voyage through the heaven). The same development is found in Assyr. *ṭarâru*, 'set, of the sun' (*SGl*, *s.v. gigri*), with which cf. Ar. *ṭurra*, 'edge, margin, bank of a river,' from طرّ, 'cut, lash, drive (cattle),' which appears in Assyr. *ṭirratu*, 'goad' (Haupt; formerly read *dirratu*). Assyr. *ṭarâdu* = طرد, טרד, is imperfect reduplication of root *ṭr*, with dissimilation, like *ṭaḥâdu*, 'be thick, luxuriant,' which I would refer to root *ṭḥ*, 'push,' whence, *inter al.*, طحك, 'be thick, of darkness' ('pressed, compact'), and *ṭeḥû*, 'press on, approach' (also "push" a woman).   Eg. *špr*, 'ask, beg,' means perhaps 'go up to, accost,' with Sethe (so Ember).[2]

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[1] The combination sometimes made with سفر, 'set out,' سافر, 'journey,' is very unlikely, though phonetically exact. The root *pr* seems to have meant 'split, sever separate,' whence 'flee, be swift'; *šapâru* 'send,' is causative, and سفر is an intransitive development of the causative.

[2] Eg. *špri* ʿḫ³w (Sinuhe) reminds one forcibly of Assyr. *kakkê ša'âlu*. While both expressions seem to mean "challenge," the Eg. *špri* is surely the causative of *pri*, 'go out.'

93. *Śrqt*, the scorpion-goddess (cf. Gardiner, *PSBA*, XXXIX, 31–44) < *śrq, 'pierce, sting' = سلق , 'flay, pierce' (cf. *silqat*, 'female locust,' so called from mode of depositing eggs), Assyr. *šalâqu*, 'cut out, slit open'; cf. *zuqâqîpu*, 'scorpion,' from *zaqâpu*, 'project, be sharp' (*ziqpu*, 'point'; *zaqîpu*, 'stake').[1] *PSBA*, XXXIX, 42, Gardiner quotes the passage *rditw ḫftiwi m nqˤwt Śrqt ḥr q̆śwśn* = 'let my foes be placed with their bonds in the mandibles of *Śrqt*.' Ember suggests happily that *nqˤt* is derived from *nqˤ = نقر , 'pierce, puncture.' The homonym *śrq*, 'breathe,' from the locution *śrq ḥtw*, 'open the windpipe,' may possibly be connected with שָׂרַק , 'be empty,' originally causative of רִיק רוק , and meaning 'empty out.'

94. *śnṭ*, 'establish' (e.g., *Pyr. Texts*, 644) = Assyr. *šakânu*, 'establish, set,' سكن , 'settle, dwell.' Eg. *śnṭi*, 'site' (Coptic CNTE), corresponds exactly to *maškanu*. The stem s_1kn is causative of *kn*, found in כון , etc., 'stand, be firm,' which occurs in Eg. in *ṭni*, 'raise, praise' (Ember), *ṭnnt*, the sanctuary of Sokaris (cf. מְכוֹן יהוה , Ember). Eg. *ṭnw*, 'each, every,' is *kalû*, כֹּל ; *ṭnw*, 'count,' is كنا , 'designate' (especially by an appellative, *kunia*, כָּנָּה). Both etymologies were first found by Ember.

95. *śnḏ*, 'fear,' seems to have meant primarily (cf. the hieroglyph) 'be stiff, paralyzed with fear,' and may thus be connected with שֶׁלֶג , *talǧ-šalgu*, 'snow,' from a stem meaning 'be cold,' ultimately perhaps 'pour down' (cf. ثـم , etc., stems parallel to دج , and χιών, χειμών, from χέω). The development 'be cold' is attested by Ar. *ṭáliǧa*, 'be cool, calm, sedate'; اثلج , 'make calm, contented,' like برد , 'refresh,' and Eg. *qbb-qbḥ* (hence the *refrigerium* is paradise). From 'be cold, stiff,' or 'shiver, shudder,' comes 'fear'; cf. חרד , 'shiver, fear,' and *galâtu*, 'fear,' جلد , 'be stiff with cold, frozen'; the original stem is thus *glt*, whence, by partial assimilation, *gld*, like *abâtu*, אבד , *kabâtu*, כבד . The connecting link is *galâdu*, 'emit semen' (Bezold, *Catalogue*, I, 32), which also appears as *galâtu* (*op. cit.*, III, 1579, Rm. 83), Ar. جلد , 'have intercourse with, emit semen' (نكِ اليد = جلد عميره), perhaps denominative of *ǧald*, *ǧild*, 'penis,' the 'stiff, erectile organ'; cf. *ǧáluda*, 'be stiff, firm'

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[1] Eg. *wḥˤt*, 'scorpion' = وَحَرَة , 'poisonous lizard.'

(גֶּלֶד, ǧild, giladu, 'hide, skin,' is the 'stiff, unpliable,' referring primarily to untanned leather). Cf. also *šurubtu, šurubbû, šarbabu*, 'terror,' not to be separated from שׁרב, 'glow, be dry'; for anti-phrasis cf. Lat. *pruina*, קָרִיר, *qûçu* (Haupt), ⲕⲗⲗ:, 'be cold' (קוּר), and *qarâru*, 'be hot.'

96. *šḥm*, 'have control, be powerful, strong.' I have been asso-ciating this word with Assyr. *ḥamâmu*, usually rendered 'guide, direct' (Jensen); cf. *ššm* (causative of *šm*), 'lead, control, rule' (*ššm tß* = 'regent of the land').[1] I have finally, however, concluded that Ember is right in combining *šḥm* with חכם (for whose etymology cf. under *mšl*). Assyr. *ḥamâmu* (in *ḥâmim parçi têrêti*), moreover, means 'decide,' primarily 'cut' (like *parâsu*, κρίνω, Sum. *tar, kud*), belonging with *ḥamâmu*, 'reap' (= *eçêdu*; Eg. *ḥb*, 'sickle,' Ember), and اختم, 'cut'; Ar. حمّ (unp.), 'decree (god),' probably belongs here also, though it may have meant 'make hot, close, imminent' (احمّ = 'be imminent, decide'). Assyr. *ḥimmatu* (Sargon, *Huitième campagne*, l. 267) and *ḥammu* (VB, VI, No. 260, l. 13) mean 'straw' (what is reaped). Another root *ḥm*, 'be nasty,' is established by خمّ، خوم، and وخم . خمّ , 'sweep,' is a privative (like מאסא); cf. the rhyme formation قمّ (*ḥumâma* = *qumâma* is 'sweepings').[2]

97. *šḥmḫ*, 'rejoicing,' seems to stand for *ššmḫ*, causative of *šmḫ* = שׂמח, 'rejoice,' *šamâḫu*, 'flourish, grow lofty,' شمخ , 'be lofty, proud.'[3] For *ḥ < š* see above.

98. *šqḫ*, 'hew, fashion' (WB, VII, 1139) = سكف , 'crush, destroy,' שׁחק, 'crush, grind, break off,' and (Syr.) 'labor, make ready.' The stem is causative of a *ḥq < ḥk* (حلك , etc.); cf. under *ḥqt*. Professor Ember compares Coptic ϣⲉⲓⲟⲣ, 'dust,' with Heb. שַׁחַק, 'dust.'

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[1] Eg. *wšr*, 'be strong,' is similarly connected with ישׁר, يسر, *ešêru*, primarily 'be straight, right,' hence (transitive) 'guide' (*wšr*, 'rudder,' Müller). The *wšlt* or 'camel stick' perhaps belongs here, just as *qrš*, 'bury,' is connected with *qšš* = קשׁר, قسر , 'bind, force, compel' (Blackman); cf. *wt*, 'wrap up corpse.' For the *šḥm* staff cf. Spiegelberg, *RT*, XXVIII, 163 f.

[2] Here belongs Eg. *ḥmw*, 'dirt, dust,' e.g., *Pyr.* 735c (Ember).

[3] This is another combination discarded by Ember in the first period of his studies, and independently found by me since.

99. *šti*, 'shoot (arrow).' As in the case of *ṯḥ* (>*iṯḥ*, *q.v.*), the general meaning of the root *sṭ* is 'draw, stretch.' From this root are derived in Semitic אושט, 'stretch out' (<ושט>Assyr. *uaštu*, 'strong,' like *dwn*, 'stretch out,' Eth. *danâna*, 'incline,' אדון, 'lord,' and *danânu*, 'be strong'; cf. قوى and *uatru-wr* (Ember), 'great(ly),' connected with Ar. *uatr*, 'bowstring,' Eg. *wᵌr*, Spiegelberg), סוט (cf. *GB*[16] and contrast *s.v. šwtwt*) = *šâṭu*, 'draw, drag, wander,' سطو, 'make long steps' (على سطا, 'attack').

100. *štp*, 'cut,' especially of flesh (thighs of victims, etc.; *štpt* = 'cut up flesh'), hence 'select, choose' (בחר, 'choose,' also meant primarily 'cut') = سبت, 'cut,' שבת, 'be cut off, cease,' *šapâtu* (ב changed to פ with the ש), 'be finished, complete' (= *gamâru*). Eg. *šmdt*, 'half-month,' has been combined with שַׁבָּת, 'full moon,' 'week,' but the combination, though enticing, is very problematical. Ember suggests that *štp* may be שפט, 'decide, judge.' The stem *špd*, originally 'pierce' (cf. Spiegelberg, *RT*, XXVIII, 165 ff.)[1] is connected by Ember with Aram. שפד, 'pierce,' whence שפודא (>سفّود), 'spit' (the old derivation from σποδός requires no contradiction). In Arabic as in Egyptian the stem has a sexual connotation, like السفاد نزو also يقال للسباع كلها سفد انثاه ذكر: الذكر على الانثى (*LA*, IV, 203).

101. *šᵌši*, 'walk, wander' = *ⲤⲰϢ:, *sôsáua*, originally 'be swift, move rapidly,' which appears in the nominal derivative סוס, 'horse,' סוסיא, *sîsû* (Littmann) and סיס, 'swallow' (cf. *JAOS*, XXXV, 393, n. 3). Eg. *šᵌši* and Eth. *ansôsáua* share the meaning περι πατεῖν. For the dissimilation cf. شمس for *سمس, etc. Heb. שסה, 'plunder,' may be denominative from שׁסֶה, 'nomad, brigand,' originally connected with Eg. *šᵌšw*, 'nomad,' just as *ᶜᵌmw*, 'nomad,' is, according to Ember, identical with ᶜAbir, ᶜArib (Aribi, ᶜArab), 'nomad' (Haupt). Similarly in the Amarna correspondence *SA-GAZ* is employed for *Ḫabiru* = ᶜ*Abir*, though it is properly the ideogram for *ḫabbatu*, 'bandit, robber.' Eg. *šᵌšw* (𓏴O𓏴), 'bubalus antelope,' means 'the swift one' like *šapparu*, 'wild goat,' and *arḫu*, *tûrâḫu*,

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[1] If Hommel had examined Spiegelberg's article carefully, he might have spared himself pp. 82 ff. in Mercer-Hommel, *The Oath*. *Špd* has nothing to do with the zodiacal light.

'wild goat, ibex.' Also *šś3*, 'be skilful, versed,' may be a modification of the same stem; cf. مهر, כָּהִיר, from the stem *mhr*, 'be swift, agile.' It is also possible that *šś3* is to be connected with *šśr*, 'arrow,' which Ember combines with שֶׁלַח, 'missile, dart'; *šśr* < **šśr* < *šhr* (another value of the arrow) < **śrḥ* = שלח. For the development note *schicken, geschickt*, and Ar. *nabl*, 'arrow,' *nâbil*, 'clever, skilful.'

102. *šwi*, 'be empty' = خـوى, 'be empty.'[1] اخـوى , خـوى , 'fatten' bears a relation to خوى, 'have an empty stomach, be hungry,' like that of زاهق, 'fat,' and زاهق, 'lean' (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 99). زهق seems to have possessed originally some such meaning as 'reach out, have the capacity,' from which the various values of the stem can readily be derived. 'Capacious' may mean either 'holding much, full,' or 'capable of holding much, empty.' It is quite possible that Eg. *ḫi*, 'placenta' (Blackman, *JEA*, III, 235 ff.) belongs with our stem; cf. خوى, 'deliver' (i.e., 'empty out' foetus) and خـوّى, 'feed a confined woman' (with food designed to promote a successful delivery). Possibly חַיְּתָה, חַיְתָא, 'bearing woman, midwife' (cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 88) belongs to our stem and has nothing to do with חיה, 'live,' except by popular etymology.

103. *šbi*, 'change' (🜂IBE), and *wšb*, 'answer' (for semantics cf. above under *wdb*), must be connected with Assyr. *kišâda šabâšu*, 'turn the neck away,' hence *šabâšu* (elliptic), 'be angry' (also written, by the operation of various combinatory principles, *šabâsu, šapâsu*, and *sabâsu*); *šabûsu*, 'exchange' (*HW*, p. 638b), is very doubtful. It is possible (cf. *JAOS*, XXXVI, 229) that شهب او الحر شهبه شمب, (البرد اذا لوحه او غيّر لونه), 'change color, grow pale,' and שׂיב, 'grow gray,' belong here, but cf. under *šb3*, 'star.' The group

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[1] Eg. *šwi* has no connection with שׁרא, سـلا, as *GB* wants. The three stems *šwi* are correctly separated by Erman: *šwi*, 'be dry' (*šw*, 'sunlight') is شوى, *šayû*, 'roast, broil' (Ember); *šwi*, 'raise.' I would combine with נשׂא, نشا, *našû*, 'raise' (for *w = n* see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 179 ff., and cf. Ember's *wšd* = نشل and *wdt* = ידה, etc. The change is not phonetic in origin, but morphological), and *šd'u* (*išû'*), 'fly' (cf. *šwt*, 'feather'). Eg. *šwt*, 'shadow' perhaps belongs with *šw*, 'sunlight,' as a *lucus a non lucendo.*

šabâšu, šbb (šbn), شوب , 'mix' (see under ˁnḫ), is probably connected, meaning properly 'turn over and over, umrühren.'   There is in Assyrian a third šabâšu, 'to tax,' primarily 'bind, obligate, impose upon,' exhibiting a development like Eg. ḥtr, حتم , مكس , makâsu, حكم , חבר, etc., as suggested by Ember.   This š is Ar. س, in سبّ , 'injure,' سبّب , 'cause,' primarily 'bind, oppress'; cf. Ar. sibb, 'turban,' Assyr. šibbu, 'girdle,' שִׁבֵּשׁ , 'twist,' סִבְכָּא שִׁבְכְתָא, etc., 'tendril,' Heb. שְׂבָכִים (dissimilation), 'fillet.'   Aram. סבב, 'heap up, grow,' clearly belongs with شبّ , 'grow, grow up,' apparently distinct from the other roots šb.   Heb. סבב is apparently anomalous.

104. špśi, 'noble' = חֻפְשִׁי, 'free' (cf. špi, 'be ashamed' = חפר, خفر , Ember).   Similarly, חֹר, 'noble,' is Ar. ḥurr, 'freeman,' and aṷêlu means 'noble' and 'freeman.'   In Gardiner, Admonitions, p. 24, špśw, as synonym of ḥwd, 'rich,'[1] is contrasted with šwȝ, 'poor,' just as aṷêlu with muškênu.   Tiele's combination of çabê ḥubši, 'peasants' (Thureau-Dangin, Huitième campagne, p. 7, n. 10; Amiaud-Scheil, Salmanasar II, p. 102, where some etymologies are rather superficially proposed) with חֻפְשִׁי cannot be accepted.   The çab ḥubši of the Assyrian inscriptions, and the amêl ḥubši of the Amarna letters, is, as Thureau-Dangin maintains, 'the man subjected to the corvée' (dupšikku); ḥubšu must be derived from ḥabâšu, 'crush, grind' (= הָבַשׁ, 'crush, squash'; חבץ, 'squash, mix,' is خبص , Assyr. ḥabâçu, 'mix, confuse,' Creation, III, 136), perhaps a doublet of ḥamâšu, خمش .[2] Also خشب , 'roughen, polish,' may be a transposition, the fundamental idea being 'crush, make coarse.'   From 'be rough, hard,' comes ḥâšab, 'wood, timber' (cf. Assyr. ḥibišti qišti).   Eg. ḥbȝ, 'break, hack,' may further belong here (for sibilant cf. on šbȝ).

105. šfw, 'swell, be exalted' (šfwt, 'swelling'; šfit, 'power') = شوف . شاف , 'polish,' is according to Haupt (AJSL, XXVI, 16) a loan from Aram. שָׁף (cf. also Fränkel, p. 262, on شياف , 'eye

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[1] Eg. ḥwd may possibly be connected with وجل . خون . خلّي , 'move rapidly,' with which Nöldeke has tentatively combined חדה, ḥadâ, 'rejoice,' and with which ḥdi 'go down stream' (Assyr. niqilpú), may belong; cf. شمخ , 'be proud, boastful,' and שׂמה .

[2] Ružička's combination of ḥamâšu with حمس and חָרְמֵשׁ (KD, p. 79) is impossible.

salve'=שִׁירְפָּא), but اشاف, 'be high,' and تشوّف, 'look down from above,' are genuine Arabic expressions. For the development 'swell, be exalted' cf. نبر, *narâbu*, which I shall discuss elsewhere. Eg. *šfit*, 'vineyard, Weinberg,' is like *karmu*, 'mound, vineyard' (כרם), for whose primary meaning cf. *JAOS*, XXXVI, 228. Vines were planted, of course, on hills and terraces.

106. *šnḏ*, 'acacia' (whence שִׁטָּה, Ar. *sunṭ*, Assyr. *samṭu*, GB[16]) = Ar. *šáǧar*, 'tree.' The Acacia Nilotica was, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the tree of Egypt, whence the Sumerians called it *muš-makána*, 'the tree of Egypt' (>*musukkânu*, מסכן; Haupt, *OLZ*, X, 489; *JBL*, XXXVI, 145). Similarly the Western Semites called the oak אַלּוֹן, Aram. אִילָנָא, 'tree.' Such semantic changes are common; cf. *iççûru*, צִפּוֹר, 'bird,' and عصفور, 'sparrow.' For *n* < *r* cf. besides the cases already suggested (*nḥš* and *šḥn*) the following equations of Ember: *ʿfn* = غفر (*ÄZ*, LI, 120): *knkn*, 'dance' = כִּרְכֵּר; *pnw*, 'mouse' = فار; *qnd*, 'baboon' = قِرْد; *knš* = כרש (?). Also *snm*, 'be sad' (Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 25), may be *zarâbu*, 'be wretched,'[1] and *šnbt*, ϣ ⲚϤⲈ, 'skin, hide' (Gardiner, *PSBA*, XXXVIII, 104, renders 'breast'), may be בָּשָׂר, بشرة (but cf. Müller in GB[16]; *bšiʾ* might be Ar. سبى, 'skin,' with which Haupt has combined Eth. *sábʾe*, 'man'; cf. אָדָם, انام, Eg. *inm*, etc.).

107. *šdḥ*, 'must,' is presumably to be connected with סוחט, 'press grapes,' Aram. סחט; cf. *qdf* = קטף = *qatâpu* (Ember). Assyr. *çaḥâtu* is probably to be combined with ضغط (Jensen), 'press'; cf. *çaḥâru* = صغر; the ع became خ under the influence of the surd ص (ç). Coptic *embris*, 'must,' may be a loan-word from a Semitic *mêriš (Heb. תירוש, Aram. מֵאִירְתָא, Assyr. *mêrisu* [*CT*, XXII, 38, 27, *mîris qarani ina pânâtûʾa* (iç)çaḥaṭ = 'the must of the wine is being

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[1] *Zarâbu* is Syr. זרב, 'oppress, crush' (זרבא דלבא is *angustia cordis*), and perhaps also زبر, 'hinder' (زبم, 'misfortune'), which must be separated from زبر, 'prune,' Heb. זמר. Haupt now combines زرب, 'inclose,' with *supûru* (=زريبة). Fossey's reading *zarâpu* and comparison with ذرف, 'flow, shed tears' (*JA*, XVI, 115 ff.) is improbable. There are a number of parallel stems meaning 'flow, drip,' as ذرف, דרה, זרזם. דלב זרה Aram. زرف (*sic*), etc.

pressed out under my supervision'], and *mêrištu* [Luckenbill, *AJSL*, XXIII, 293]) from the stem *uṛθ*, *'press out, deprive' (ورت, ירשׁ, Haupt). Possibly Eg. *irp*, 'wine,' is originally connected with *uṛθ*, standing then for *irf, like *fś*, 'roast, cook' (בשׁל, Brugsch), for *pś*. For *f < θ* cf. on *fχ̣*.

108. *khb*, 'strike, push' (of a bull, the wind, *WB*, VII, 1280) may be كبح, 'strike, repulse' (interchange between *ḫ* and *h* is not uncommon), or كهم, 'strike, crush,' *káhima*, 'be blunt' (*LA*, XV, 434: وسف كهام وكهيم لا يقطع, كليل عن الضربة).

109. *gmḥ*, 'see' = جمح, 'gaze' (*LA*, XIV, 352, l. 6 from below: والتجمح (وعمن جامحة شاخصة, جمح, 'stare unblinkingly' الاستثبات فى النظر لا تطرف عنة), and 'pierce with the gaze' وجمحنى بعينه تجمحا احد الى النظر). The root meaning is 'be bright, hot'; (110) *gmḫt*, 'wick' = جامح, 'red-hot coal'; جحيم, 'ardent fire,' is a common synonym of نار الجهنم.

111. *grḥ*, 'night'—see *ḥk3*.

112. *grg*, 'equip, found, establish,' probably is to be connected with Semitic *krr*, *krk*, *krkr*, primarily 'wind, encircle,' as appears from كرّ, 'turn, wind, return,' Aram. כרך, 'go around, encircle' = Assyr. *karâku*. Eth. ⷈⷉⷈⷆ is partial assimilation to the *r*. Assyr. *karâru* means, besides 'wind,' 'wrap, equip,' and 'lay (foundation), found, place, establish' (Johnston, *AJSL*, XXIX, 122–25). Aram. כרכּא is 'city' (first in Pap. 8, Eleph.), properly 'fortified city' (*bît dûri*; cf. Syr. כּריך, *circumvallatus*). Assyr. *kirḫu*, 'fortification,' may possibly stand for *kirku, by dissimilation; also old Aram. *Karkar*, a common place-name, evidently has the same meaning. It may be worth noting that כּכּר, 'talent' (for *כּרכּר), becomes כנכר in Eg., Aram., and ϭⲓⲚϭⲰⲢ in Coptic (Sah.), by partial assimilation.

113. *grg*, 'lie' (ϭⲟⲗ, 'lie, deception'), may be connected with قرق, 'deceive.'

114. *gḥś*, 'gazelle'—see under *irtt*.

115. *gś*, 'anoint' = جسّ, נשׁשׁ, 'touch, feel, stroke'; cf. مسح, 'stroke' and משׁה, *muššû*, 'anoint' (i.e., 'bestreichen'), also בשׁשׁ,

'feel, stroke,' *mašâšu*, 'smear.' Another of these rhyme words is *pašâšu*, 'anoint,' to be connected with פָשַׁשׁ, 'melt,' and פָּשַׁשׁ, 'investigate,' like جسّ and מָשַׁשׁ, properly 'feel one's way.' Possibly Eg. *gś*, 'run,' also belongs here, though the relation is not clear.

116. *ß*, 'land, soil' = طَاعَة, 'black mud' (= حَمْأَة); cf. Lat. *humus* (χαμαί) = Avestan *zam*, 'earth.' The stem is closely related to *u̯áṭi᾽a*, 'tread' (cf. طَاعَ, 'go,' and *redû*); Landberg remarks (*Daṭînah*, II, 1083, n. 1); "طَاعَة est donc véritablement *piétinement*, car cette vase [autour du puits] se produit justement par le وَطَاء des bêtes" (cf. *JAOS*, XXXVI, 230, on كديد, 'ground trampled by hoofs'). Similarly *ṭaṭâ᾽* = 'low ground,' while طَأْطَأ = 'humble, stoop,' like كنع, כנע (contrast Böhl, *Kanaanäer*, p. 1, n. 2). טִיט, 'mud, clay' (*ṭîṭu*) is a reduplicated form, 'what is trodden,' with which Brugsch combined Eg. *tit*, 'pus, matter,' primarily 'mud, filth.' The old combination of טִיט with טוֹה, on the supposition that טִיט meant originally 'fecal matter,' requires no comment. Aramaic טִינָא is due, we may suppose, to the contamination of *טִיטָא and *סִינָא (סִינָא), 'clay, mud.' This principle, which is proving so fruitful in Indo-European philology, has been almost entirely neglected by Semitists; cf. Fränkel, *BA*, III, 85, who explains Tunisian صيد, 'lion,' as due to the conflation of اسد, 'lion,' with صاد, 'hunt.' Another reduplication is (117) *titi*, 'tread.' טַאטֵא, 'sweep,' is doubtless, as has been suggested, a privative, 'clear away dirt.' From the same root also come *twt*, 'resemble' (*q.v.*) and *wt*, 'oasis'; cf. Ar. *u̯aṭ᾽*, 'low, moist ground.' Our root must be kept sharply distinct from *wt*, 'wind,' whence *wtt*, 'snake,' and *twt*, 'assemble.'

118. *twt*, 'equal, resemble,' is to be compared with Ar. *u̯áṭu᾽a*, 'be even, level'; *u̯aṭṭa᾽a*, 'make level'; *u̯âṭa᾽a*, 'harmonize, agree.' Cf. the stem سوى, שׁוה (also cf. on *iwš*3), which unites the meanings 'be level, agree, resemble.'

119. *twt*, 'gather, assemble,' I would refer to the root *tw (*wt*), 'to twist,' Ar. طوى, 'turn, roll, twist'; cf. *paḫâru*, 'turn, assemble.' انطوى على فلان means 'gather around someone,' literally, 'be folded upon someone.'

120. *tnm*, 'lose one's way'= طلب , 'seek'; cf. فقد , 'lose,' and ⲥⲫⲣ: , 'search, seek' (تفقّد is 'search for something lost'=نشد). פקד , *paqâdu*, 'take care of, watch out for,' shows that 'seek' is probably more original than 'lose.' Cf. also راد , 'ask, search,' and 'wander, rove.' The phonetic changes in *tnm* are all very common; cf. *ḫnm*, 'seize'= خلب (*miḫlab*, 'talon'), Ember.

121. *thi*, 'cross, transgress'= تيه , 'wander'; cf. עבר , ערב , 'cross, transgress, wander' (Eg. *ꜥpi*, Ember). Ember would combine the stem with طهو , 'traverse,' which may be correct, especially since تاه means also 'be stupefied' like Aram. תוה , and may present a development like שמם שׁתם, שׁתְמָא (ⲝⲁⲓ, תֹהוּ='desert, waste'). However, the process here seems to be 'be stupefied, distraught, wander.'

122. *tḫ*, 'indicator, on a balance,' may be connected with *ḫâṭu*, 'weigh on the balance' (*gišrinnu*, *zibânîtu*;[1] cf. Harper, *Letters*, No. 292, rev. ll. 4 ff.); cf. פֶּלֶס , which Haupt has combined with *naplusu*, 'see'—*ḫâṭu* means properly 'see, inspect' (for etymology cf. under *ḫtḫt*, which, it is interesting to note, also appears in transposed form, *tḫtḫ*).

123. *tḫi*, 'become intoxicated'= تخم , 'become sour, be leavened'; cf. ثمل , 'be intoxicated,' while ثميل ='sour milk,' and خمر , 'ferment, rise' (خمير , 'leaven'= Coptic ⲑⲀⲂEMHP), and 'intoxicate.'

124. *tḫb*, 'to water, wet'=טבע , 'sink,' *ṭebû*, 'dip, submerge,' ⲙⲟⲟⲩ: (cf. ⲙⲟⲩⲫ:), 'dip, plunge.' For *ḫ*<*ꜥ* cf. *sfḫ*= سبع , *wšḫ*= وسع , both due to partial assimilation to the preceding consonant. A direct connection with ⲙⲟⲩⲫ: is also possible: ⲙⲫⲟⲩ:= تخم , ⲫⲗⲁ:= خلب (*ḫmn*); on the other side *ꜥnḫ*, 'goat'= *unêqu* (Hommel), with some doubtful cases. I would suggest the comparison of *tkn*, 'approach,' and *ṭaḫû* (for final *n* cf. note on *ꜥnḫ*, 'live'), of *tk3*, 'lamp,' with ⲙⲑⲉⲧ: , 'lamp,' from ⲑⲉⲱ: , 'light, kindle,' which

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[1] *Zibânîtu* is probably not derived from זבן , but is its source; contrast Růžička *KD*, p. 93, whose combinations, both Semitic and Hamitic, seem to me most infelicitous. Eg. *deb* (after Reinisch) is *db3*, which is either *gamâlu*, נמל (A.) or صبر (Ember). Perhaps *zibânîtu* stands for *ṣibânîtu*, a form like *elênitu*<*elânîtu* (from עלה , *elû*) from *ṣubbû*, 'see, inspect' (Heb. צפה , by partial assimilation to the צ).

can hardly be connected with كت, 'boil, of a kettle,' which Ember has combined with *ktwit*, 'kettle' (also *kt*, 'be small, few,' belongs with كت, 'count' [cf. בתי בוסבר and جمش لا يكت]; Heb. כתת, 'crush,' gives the primary connotation; cf. דקק, دق).

125. *tš*, 'yield, retire' = שׁוט, 'yield, turn aside,' Eth. *šôṭa*, 'bring back, restore,' reflexive, 'return, retreat.'[1] Here also belong شط, 'withdraw, be unjust, err,' and שׁטה, ⲥⲟⲣⲙ⳿, 'err' (see *GB*[16], *s.v.* שׁוט and שׁטה). Barth also brings in طمش, 'be volatile, unsteady,' which I would combine with שׁוט, טס, 'fly, hover over,' and separate from שׁוט.

126. *twf*, 'papyrus' (whence ⲧⲟⲩϥ) = Assyr. *kupû*, 'reed-(thicket),' from *kipû*, 'bend' = *kapâpu*, كف, כפף (whence כִּפָּה, 'palm branch').

127. *tpḥt*, 'cave, cavity' = Ar. *kahf*. The root is *kp*, 'hollow out, round out'; cf. Assyr. *kuppu*, 'basin of a fountain, source of a spring,' which resembles *tpḥt* in the meaning 'Nile source' and 'reservoir of the underworld' (*tpḥt Nwnw* = *kuppu ša engurri*). For *ḥ* < *h* (perhaps also parallel formations) cf. *gmḥt*, 'forehead' = جبهة (Ember); *nḥm*, 'take away, rob' = نهب (Ember); also *s.v.* *nḥbt*, *khb*, etc.

128. *tḥn*, 'sparkle, flash,' is to be connected with تكلّ, 'flash intermittently, of lightning,' like انكلّ and اكتلّ, which are more original; the root meaning is 'be dull, blunt, dim, dark' (*kk*, 'darkness,' for *kiki*, may stand for *klkl*). From 'keep on being dark, be intermittently dark,' follows naturally the complementary idea 'be bright intermittently, flash' (for the *didd* cf. on ʿʿw, 'sleep,' *ḥnd*, *tnm*.[2]

129. *dȝdȝ*, 'shake' = دلدل. Assyr. *dalâlu* meant primarily 'hang, suspend, exalt,' hence 'praise,' and 'obey' (like *naʾâdu*), 'serve, be humble.' Also *dalû*, דלה, ⲑⲗⲱ: had the same force.

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[1] This is preferable to the etymology given in *AJSL*, XXXIV, 95. Also *ttwḥ* = طبيخ must be excised, as the Eg. word is too doubtful.

[2] Eg. *tḥn*, 'olive oil,' shows the same development as *bȝq* = ברק and יצהר (Ember, *ÄZ*, LI, 114), perhaps also *zait*, 'olive oil,' if connected with Assyr. *ziyu*, 'brilliance' (*zîmu*, זיו, زى). Blackman has shown recently that *Tḥnw*, 'Libya,' means 'the olive land'; perhaps *Tmḥ*, 'Libyan,' is simply a transposition, with dissimilation (cf. above on *ḥmt*).

130. *dhn*, 'do obeisance, by touching the forehead to the ground' (kowtow), is perhaps denominative of (131) *dhnt*, 'forehead,' properly 'the lofty part,' like جبهة ; (132) *dhnit* is 'summit of mountain.' Hence (133) *dhni*, 'appoint, promote' = 'exalt, elevate, place in an important position.' The stem *dhn*, *'be high,' is identical with نهد , 'be swollen and rounded,' of breasts and skin-bottles, a by-form of *naʾâdu*, ⲚⲀⲈ : , 'praise, exalt' (also intransitive). In Hebrew we have נאד , 'skin-bottle,' Assyr. *nâdu*, from this root (Haupt; cf. *GB*[16]); cf. *nahd*, 'female breast,' and *uatb*, 'skin-bottle, big breast.'[1] For *dhnit*, cf. نهداء , 'high dune,' and Assyr. *nîdu*, 'cumulus cloud' (Weidner, *Babyl.*, IV, 179); on נד see *GB*[16].

134. *dbt*, 'brick' = ⲦⲰⲂⲈ : , πλίνθος, 'burnt brick,' for *genbâl* < *gembâl* < *gebbâl* (*KD*, p. 134: ⲦⲰⲂⲘ : , 'scratch, impress,' ground-form خبط), from obsolete stem corresponding to جبل , גבל , 'knead, mold,' also of brick. From Eg. *dbt* (*ğâbe*) comes Coptic ⲦⲰⲂⲈ > Arab. طوب > Sp. *adobe*, 'sun-dried brick,' now a common American word.

135. *ddb*, 'stab, prick, sting,' may = גלב , *galâbu*, جلب , 'cut with a lash' (מִגְלְבָא), 'shave with a razor' (*naglabu*, נגלבא). *Sinuhe*, pp. 130 f., *ddb* means 'stir up, bring together,' primarily like نخس , نسع , نزع , etc., 'prick, incite' (*ddb* = *ddm*, Gardiner, *Anastasi*, p. 23, n. 6). So also جلب means 'collect, assemble.' Professor Ember may, however, be right in comparing *ddb* with جذم , 'cut' (*ğidma*, 'whip').

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[1] Ar. وطب , which may be Eg. *wmt*, 'be fat,' is thus illustrated (*LA*, II, 297):

and . وامرآة وطباء كبيرة الثديين كانّها تحمل وطبا من اللبن

والوَطْب الرجل الجانى (p. 298, l. 5).

IMMANUEL

By Kemper Fullerton
Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

It will probably be deemed by many a hopeless undertaking to attempt once more to solve the problem of Isa. 7:14. Have not all the possibilities in the interpretation of the passage already been canvassed? Out of the welter of suggestion can one hope to secure a general consensus of opinion? Probably not. Yet there are two considerations which have led me to believe that it is neither unnecessary nor inopportune to reopen the question. The first is the curious fact that criticism, having apparently boxed the compass of exegetical possibilities, has returned in its latest phases, as represented, for example, by Gressmann and Hans Schmidt, to the messianic interpretation. Is this to be the outcome of all the work that has been devoted to this passage? The second consideration is the conviction that not even yet has criticism paid sufficient attention to the demands of the context both literary and historical in which this oracle was spoken. Scholars have continued to pay lip service to the principles of historical exegesis in dealing with this passage, but not one of them, so far as I can see, unless it be Hitzig, has made the attempt to solve the problem by the consistent and rigorous application of data furnished by the context itself.

If the solution here proposed should not commend itself, it is at least to be hoped that the formulation of the problem has gained in precision, and that the correct principles have been laid down, along the lines of which alone the answer to this century-old riddle must be sought. What is here attempted is primarily a study in method. For a detailed grammatical and exegetical justification of all the points involved and a criticism of rival theories a larger acreage of printed matter is necessary than this journal can afford to put at my disposal.

1. *The historical situation.*—The meeting between Isaiah and Ahaz, at the time of which the oracle 7:14 was uttered, is an episode in the Syro-Ephraimitic War. This is clear from the introductory

paragraphs vss. 1–9 and 10–13. The Syro-Ephraimitic War was itself an episode in the great Assyrian drives of Tiglath-pileser IV into the Westland. This is revealed by II Kings, chap. 16, combined with the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser himself. The historical situation outlined in these documents is the fundamental fact in the light of which the Immanuel prophecy must be examined. No explanation which ignores it has any claim to consideration.

2. *The teaching of 7:1–9.*—This paragraph contains an encouragement to Ahaz not to fear the coalition against him of northern Israel under Pekah and Damascus under Rezin. The failure of the coalition is prophesied and the prophecy is expressed unconditionally (vss. 7–9a).[1] Yet immediately afterward a conditional deliverance is implied (vs. 9a). How is this to be explained? It is not to be regarded as a belated qualification of the promise in vss. 7–9, a kind of afterthought. This would contradict all that we know of Isaiah's attitude toward the coalition (cf. chaps. 8 and 17). He saw clearly that it was doomed to failure. Isaiah understood the real menace of Assyria. Verse 9b must accordingly refer to something else. Ahaz will be unconditionally delivered from the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition, but *his subsequent destiny* is conditional. The arbiter of that destiny can only be Assyria. Rescue from the lesser danger of invasion by Rezin and Pekah is unconditional; rescue from the greater danger of invasion by Assyria is conditional. This must be the meaning of vs. 9b in its present connection. And observe that vs. 9b is expressed, not as a promise, but as a threat. Isaiah has reason to fear that Ahaz will prove faithless and that the punishment will come.

3. *The teaching of vss. 18–25.*—The form of these verses, taken as a whole, can scarcely be original. But their general content may be accepted as genuine. Here the destruction by Assyria[2] of a land unnamed is certain. The threat is *unconditioned*. But when vss. 18–25 are subsumed under vs. 17, the land is clearly Judah. This suggests that a crisis has intervened between vss. 1–9 and vss. 17, 18–25. The conditional threat in vs. 9b has become an unconditional

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[1] For the reconstruction of vss. 8 f. see the writer's note in *JBL*, XXXV, 140 f.

[2] Even though the references to Assyria by name in vss. 18, 20 are glosses, as I believe they are, there is no reason to question their correctness. There is more reason to suspect the genuineness of the allusion to Egypt, vs. 18.

threat in vss. 17, 18–25.   There must be a reason for this change.
When we turn to vss. 10–13 we discover the reason.

4. *The teaching of vss. 10–13.*—In considering these verses two
questions at once arise: (1) Why did Isaiah feel it necessary to offer
a sign to Ahaz?   (2) Why did Ahaz refuse the offer?   Neither of
these questions is answered in the passage.[1]   Hence the answers
must be conjectured.   Along what lines must conjecture proceed if
they are to be anything more than guesses?   Clearly along the
lines of the historical situation.

If the second question be first considered, it is plain that Ahaz
did not refuse because he did not wish encouragement.   It is equally
plain that the reason he gives for his refusal is not the real reason.
Isaiah recognizes that it is an evasion.   Two facts suggest the real
reason for his refusal.   The first of these is the historical situation as
outlined by vss. 1–9 combined with II Kings, chap. 16.   Ahaz and
the court were in a panic (vss. 1–9) and applied to Assyria for help
(II Kings, chap. 16).   Isaiah urged Ahaz not to fear, but to trust in
Jahweh (vss. 1–9).   How would this agree with an alliance with
Assyria?   Here we meet with the second fact.   Isaiah construed
such an alliance as a mark of unbelief, as apostasy from Jahweh,
8:5–8.[2]   Hence, if Ahaz was either contemplating an appeal to
Assyria or had already made it, we have the right to infer that his
refusal of Isaiah's offer of a sign was due to his desire to continue in
his pro-Assyrian policy.   If he accepted Isaiah's offer he would com-
mit himself to the prophet's policy of reliance upon Jahweh alone.
This idealistic policy he did not have the courage to adopt.   No
other reason for his refusal is so historically sound or adequate.   It
is now easy to answer the first question.   Isaiah offered his sign
because he wished to make a last, supreme effort to dissuade the king
from the Assyrian alliance, which the prophet construed as religious
apostasy.   Probably when the offer was made the embassy to
Tiglath-pileser had not yet been sent.   There was still opportunity

[1] There is a slight gap between vss. 1–9 and 10–13.   The various methods taken to
bridge over the gap are evidence of the fact of its existence.   Possibly there once existed
a fuller account of the scene.

[2] In analogous circumstances in the various Assyro-Egyptian crises of 720–701
Isaiah regularly construed reliance upon Egypt in the revolts against Assyria as apostacy
(cf. chaps. 20; 28:15 f.; 30:1 ff., 15; 31:1 ff.).   Isaiah's politics throughout his career was
consistently idealistic.   In other words it was governed by religious considerations.

for the king to change his mind. The result of his effort is a failure. Consequently the conditional doom announced in vs. 9a because of lack of faith must become certain doom. Ahaz is rejected, as the wording of vss. 10–13 makes sufficiently clear.[1] We have therefore in vss. 10–13 an explanation of the change from conditional threat in vs. 9a to absolute threat in vss. 18–25, provided these last verses can be understood in the light of vs. 17. We are therefore driven to an examination of vs. 17. But this cannot be done without at the same time considering its relationship to vss. 14–16.

5. *The connection of vs. 17.*—While vs. 17 can be regarded, as it often is, as the theme of which vss. 18–25 are the elaboration, this is not its natural connection. Verse 17 as direct address differs in form from vss. 18–25, in which the direct address is absent. Again vs. 17 is absolutely necessary to vss. 10–13. If vss. 14–16 be for the moment left out of account, vs. 17 is seen to be the complement of vss. 10–13. Because of vss. 10–13 we expect a threat; in vs. 17 we get it. Further, it is the kind of threat we expect, namely, invasion by Assyria. This was the threat implied in vs. 9 if Ahaz did not believe. Ahaz did not believe (vss. 10–13). Therefore the threat implicit in vs. 9b becomes explicit in vs. 17. Thus vs. 17 is connected in a more intimate and organic way with vss. 10–13 than are vss. 18–25. All theories, and there are many, *which seek to explain vss. 14–16 by deleting vs. 17 from the text, must be regarded as historically unsound.* Verses 10–13 and 17 are clear, consistent, and agreeable alike to the preceding context and the historical situation, and vs. 17 is necessary to vss. 10–13. Verses 14–16, on the contrary, are among the most ambiguous verses in the Old Testament. Method requires that we proceed from the clear to the obscure; vss. 10–13 and 17 furnish the framework within which vss. 14–16 must be examined. Nobody would have dreamed of separating vs. 17 from what precedes if it had not been for the supposed demands of vss. 14–16. But even in these verses there is fortunately one absolutely clear statement, namely, vs. 16b.

6. *The meaning of vs. 16b in its present connection.*—This clause has also, along with the rest of the verse, been rejected, but the accuracy

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[1] Cf. the disgust at the hypocritical answer of Ahaz expressed at vs. 13 and the subtle but significant change from "thy God," vs. 10, to "my God," vs. 13b.

with which it reflects the historical situation and its agreement with the unconditional promise in vss. 5–9a vouch for its authenticity. But why should the promise in vss. 5–9a be repeated after the king's refusal of Isaiah's offer in vss. 10–13? Granted that the contents of the clause in themselves agree with the general situation, the *present position* of the clause occasions a real difficulty. If this can be solved in a satisfactory way we shall be well on the way to a solution of the sign.

In the first place it is to be observed that since the promise in vss. 5–9a is unconditional it *could* be repeated after the king's expression of unbelief as well as before it. But what is the *motive* of the reiteration? This is the real crux. And here the failure to keep the historical situation in mind is fatal. If this situation is remembered the motive becomes clear. The promise of deliverance from the coalition in vss. 5–9a was originally made in order to dissuade Ahaz from the Assyrian alliance. It was reiterated after the king's decision in order to emphasize how unnecessary that decision was. But by itself vs. 16b would express an incomplete thought. It was not only unnecessary for the king to ally himself with Assyria; it was positively disloyal to Jahweh, and therefore must be punished. This complementary thought is found in vs. 17. The decision of Ahaz is useless, for he would have been saved in any event (vs. 16b); it is madness, for it will bring upon him destruction (vs. 17). Verses 16b and 17 state explicitly and unconditionally what vs. 9b states implicitly and conditionally. The increased precision in statement is due to the fact that the die had been cast (vss. 10–13). This interpretation of the meaning of vss. 16b and 17 in their present position after vss. 10–13 is confirmed by the "therefore" of vs. 14a.

7. *Significance of "therefore," vs. 14a.*—The "therefore" of this clause can only introduce a sign of threatening import. It is uttered in view of the king's rejection of Jahweh. The announcement which it introduces must accordingly be in some way or other an announcement of doom. All interpretations which ignore this inference do violence to the most obvious requirements of the context. The "therefore" of vs. 14a demands vs. 17 (a further argument against the deletion of this verse), and it is not inconsistent with vs. 16b as we have interpreted it. Indeed, if it were not for vss. 14b–16a it

would be possible to take vs. 16*b* itself as the sign and attach it immediately to the "therefore" of vs. 14*a*. The sign would then consist in the fact that the fulfilment of the prediction of deliverance out of the Syrian crisis is a guaranty of the fulfilment of the prediction of destruction in the subsequent Assyrian crisis. Thus construed, vss. 14*a*, 16*b*, and 17 would yield an impressive thought. It is not necessary that the sign in itself should be of an unpleasant character in order to be effective. On the contrary, the stinging mockery of it would be enhanced if the sign seemed to be of happy omen. Verse 16*b*, as a sign in itself propitious, but a pledge at the same time of what is unpropitious, would have just that ironical quality in it which would make it most effective for Isaiah's purpose. "I told you," he must be supposed to say, "that you would be rescued from Syria. *I repeat it;* but now the certainty of that rescue shall be to you the sign of the certainty of your doom." The prophet's irony is a fitting rebuke to the king's hypocrisy.[1] Two objections may be urged against the foregoing interpretation of the relationship between vss. 14*a*, 16*b*, and 17:

1. The first is the asyndeton at vs. 17. It is claimed that if vss. 16*b* and 17 were related in the way suggested this close relationship in thought would be reflected in a syntactical relationship between the verses. There is an admitted difficulty at this point. Two different ways may be suggested by which to solve it: (*a*) The question may fairly be raised whether the asyndeton is original. It is admitted by all scholars that the chapter as a whole presents a decidedly secondary text.[2] May we not conjecture that vs. 16 and 17 were once bound more closely together than they are at present? Is this text-critical conjecture more improbable than the higher-critical deletion either of vs. 16*b* or of vs. 17, the latter of which verses has been found to be absolutely necessary to the thought of the

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[1] For the view that the fulfilment of vs. 16 is the guaranty of the fulfilment of vs. 17, cf. especially Hitzig and Porter. *JBL*, 1895, p. 30 f.

[2] For example, vss. 18–23, at least 21–23, can scarcely be in their original form. Verse 1 is borrowed from II Kings 16:5, though adapted to its present position (cf. 6:1). Above all, though chaps. 6, 7, and 8 are clearly intended to go together and to present a connected narrative of the stirring events of the Syro-Ephraimitic War and to interpret their religious significance, yet the literary form of the three chapters differs in a remarkable manner. While chaps. 6 and 8 are written in the first person, chap. 7 is written in the third person. But that chap. 7 was also originally composed in the first person is clear from the expression "my God" which is still preserved in vs. 13*b*.

passage, and the former of which has been seen to contribute very materially to the rhetorical impressiveness of Isaiah's threat? I think not.[1] (b) While the solution of the difficulty may thus be legitimately sought along text-critical lines, it is by no means impossible that the asyndeton was original and intended. It must never be forgotten that we are dealing in this passage primarily, not with what was originally a literary composition, but with a report of an *actual conversation* between Isaiah and Ahaz. The general situation at the time of the conversation was tense in the extreme. Both king and prophet were evidently under a great strain. There was here a violent conflict of wills. The destiny of the nation seemed to both men, though for different reasons, to be hanging in the balance. Is there anything unnatural in the supposition that under such circumstances the words of Isaiah should reflect in a measure the excitement of his mind? Would not the asyndeton be perfectly natural? Would not the excitement of the moment, the hot indignation produced by the king's rejection of his offer, express itself in just this abrupt, unconnected style?[2] Unless the asyndeton is explained in one or the other of the foregoing ways we become at once involved in critical operations upon the text far more drastic and leading to results which are nothing more than guesses and which violate at vital points the demands of the context.

2. The second objection to the preceding interpretation of vss. 14a, 16b, and 17 involves a formal difficulty rather than a real one. It was suggested that vs. 16b might be the sign. Formally of course this is not correct. Verse 16b is introduced by "for" (vs. 16a) and is the explanation of the sign, and not the sign itself. This naturally leads us to the discussion of the sign itself in vs. 14. But before entering upon this vexed question it will be helpful to sum up the results of the investigation thus far attained. The method has been to advance from the circumference of the passage to its center, from

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[1] It is interesting to notice that the LXX connects the two verses by ἀλλά. I do not claim that this represents an older form of the text. But it is an evidence that the Greek translators felt that the two verses originally belonged together.

[2] This explanation of the asyndeton which commended itself to me in the first studies which I made of this passage many years ago I subsequently abandoned. But if the attempt is made actually to visualize this remarkable scene, I cannot really feel that there is after all anything artificial in the explanation. Chapter 8 clearly reveals the fact that Isaiah is not attempting to give an elaborated literary account of what happened in these strenuous days, but only jottings or notes, as nearly as possible in their original form, of what had been spoken by him. Explanations of what was said are not supplied.

the general historical background of the great Assyrian drive to the special background of the Syro-Ephraimitic War. The various paragraphs and verses of chap. 7 have then been taken up in order, vss. 1–9, 18–25, 10–13, 17, 16*b*, and finally the "therefore" in vs. 14*a*. In the course of the investigation only two conjectures have been made: (*a*) It was assumed that Isaiah was attempting to dissuade Ahaz by his offer of a sign from the contemplated Assyrian alliance. This assumption is warranted by everything we know about the historical situation and the attitude of Isaiah elsewhere toward such alliances. (*b*) It was assumed that the admittedly perplexing asyndeton at vs. 17 either is due to a defective text, certainly not a violent assumption in view of the secondary nature of the text in this chapter, or is a reflection of the intense mental excitement of Isaiah at this time, again not a violent conjecture when once the attempt is made to visualize the scene. If these conjectures are admitted, we discover that vss. 10–13, 14*a*, 16*b*, and 17, when taken together, yield in every way a clear sense, a remarkably forcible sense, and one entirely in keeping with the historical situation. This is an immense gain. If the surrounding context is clear and unmistakable in its meaning, the conditions for the interpretation of the sign are provided. The sign must agree with its context or be eliminated. This method of approach to the discussion of vss. 14–16*a* is the only correct method. But the history of interpretation down to our own day and including the latest interpreters (for example, Gressmann, Hans Schmidt, and Skinner in what is generally the very admirable second edition of his commentary on Isaiah in the *Cambridge Bible*) is a standing refutation of that foolish question, What's in a name? The name Immanuel has fairly polarized its context for the great majority of scholars. They seek to interpret the details of the context so as to agree with the assumed implications of the name Immanuel rather than to determine the significance of this name out of the unambiguous data furnished by the context. No interpretation of vss. 14–16*a* which does not come to the discussion of the sign in some such way as above indicated seems to the present writer to have any real claim upon our consideration. Of all passages the present one demands a rigorous adherence to the fundamental principles of the historical method. Otherwise we are left to divination; in other words, to guessing.

8. *The elements in the problem of vss. 14–16a.*—In what follows I propose to adopt the analogy of chemical experimentation. There are certain elements or ingredients in vss. 14–16a. How will these various ingredients combine with what may be called the bases furnished by the context? Will all of them combine with the bases and form a solution, or will only some of them combine? What are the elements that will combine? The answer can only be discovered by experimentation. Introduce the various elements one at a time and watch the results. Now the elements in vss. 14–16a with which we must experiment are: the nature and functions of signs in general, the exact meaning of the word *ᶜalmah* ("virgin" or "maid"), the exact force of the article which accompanies *ᶜalmah* (generic and indefinite or definite), the personality of *ᶜalmah* (who is she?), the time of the conception and birth, the person who names the child (the *ᶜalmah* as in the present pointed text, or someone else?), the significance of the name Immanuel, the significance of the diet of butter and honey (does it imply poverty or plenty?), the construction of the ל in the phrase לְדַעְתּוֹ (temporal or telic), the significance of refusing the evil and choosing the good (chronological or moral). A full and logical treatment of the problem would require that each one of these ingredients should be studied by itself. But limitations of time and space will prevent this. On the other hand, in such an experiment it is permissible to choose first of all those elements *which seem most likely to combine*, and watch the results.

9. *On the nature and functions of signs in the Old Testament.*— If we examine the signs in the Old Testament according to their nature we discover an almost endless variety. It is needless to give examples. It is sufficient to observe that they may be equally well either miraculous or non-miraculous. But to be true to their quality as signs they must of course be able to arrest the attention. If we examine them according to their functions they will fall for the most part into a few well-defined groups. (1) There is first of all the great class of clearly memorial signs. These signs remind one of some important deed done, some fact or truth experienced, some relationship established, etc.[1] (2) In the next place there are the clearly

[1] For example, the rainbow, the sabbath, circumcision, dedication of the first-born, the Passover, the stones set up at the Jordan, the censers of Korah, and Aaron's rod that budded (the last a miraculous sign).

confirmatory signs. These are usually given to authenticate the work of some leader or the word of some prophet. Thus the miracles at the Exodus are signs to authenticate the leadership of Moses. Sometimes events of a strictly miraculous nature are accomplished in order to confirm the truth of a prophetic statement. The two classic examples are the miracle of Gideon's fleece (Judg. 6:36 ff.) and the miracle of the sundial of Ahaz (Isa. 38:7–8, 22 = II Kings 20:8, 9). It is to be noticed that neither of these cases has any inherent connection with the event of whose accomplishment it is to be a pledge. At times also the confirmatory element lies in the fulfilment of a prediction of an event in the near future; the fulfilment is the sign or pledge that a prediction of an event to occur in the remoter future will also be fulfilled. In such cases the miraculous nature of the sign lies not in the nature of the events predicted but in the fulfilment of the prediction. They testify to the omniscience rather than to the omnipotence of God as that is revealed through the prophet. Sometimes such signs have no inner connection with the event of which they are pledges (cf. I Sam. 10:1–9); sometimes they have such a connection (I Sam. 2:34; Jer. 44:29–39). (3) A third class of signs may be called prophetic signs. These are neither memorial nor confirmatory signs, but are themselves prophecies. They might be called prophetic charades. They are signs in the sense of symbols. Such a sign is found at Isa., chap. 20, where the prophet goes naked and barefoot as a sign of the future captivity of those people who were intriguing against Assyria. In particular, symbolic names are often used as prophetic signs. Compare the names of Hosea's children (Hos., chap. 1).

While signs generally fall under one or the other of the foregoing classes, it is not impossible for a sign to belong occasionally to two classes. For example, it might be both confirmatory and prophetic. A curious instance of such a double function is found at Exod. 3:12. Here God confirms Moses in his belief in his divine mission by telling him that hereafter he would worship God in this very place in which he was now standing. In this case the future fulfilment of a prediction is not a pledge of an event in a still remoter future, but it confirms a present promise. The confirmatory and memorial elements in the sign are thus combined, but in a very singular way. One wonders

just how an event which is to transpire in the future could be a convincing sign to Moses at the present moment. The suspicion at once arises that we are not dealing in this case with any true sign. It must be remembered that the passage was written long after the supposed event which it describes, and it reflects more naturally the knowledge of the later event by the writer than it does an actual scene. This is the only certain example of the kind,[1] and its peculiarity is to be explained by the literary origin of the passage in which it stands. The question now arises, What sort of a sign are we dealing with in Isa. 7:14-15? Is it miraculous or non-miraculous in its nature? Is it a memorial sign, or prophetic, or confirmatory in its function? Commentators have usually spent their energies in discussing the nature of the sign. But the question of its function is a far more important question if we would understand the meaning of the passage. There are three elements in the sign, the conception and birth of the child (vs. 14a), his name, Immanuel (vs. 14b), and the diet of butter and honey (vs. 15). What are the functions of these various elements?

10. *First experiment. Consideration of vs. 14b, the naming of the child.*—Since vs. 16 is introduced as the explanation of the sign and the meaning of vs. 16b is clear, method requires that we should make vs. 16b the starting-point of our investigations. Now vs. 16 is related to the sign as fulfilment to prediction. It further implies that the prediction must have a hopeful note in it. We are therefore led to expect in the sign a prophetic element and a promissory element. If we ask ourselves of which of the three elements in the sign is vs. 16 most likely to be the explanation; in other words, which of the three elements contains most distinctly a prophecy that is at the same time a promise, it will be seen that the birth and conception of the child may, for the moment at least, be ruled out. In itself this does not sound either like a promise or like a threat. It is neutral. Furthermore, as compared with the other two elements, the name and the diet, it is non-symbolic. The name certainly and the diet probably have a certain symbolic meaning in them. We would naturally expect that vs. 16, which is introduced as an

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[1] Isa. 37:30 = II Kings 19:29 has also been so interpreted, but the interpretation is a doubtful one.

explanation of the sign, would explain one or the other of the symbolic elements in it rather than the non-symbolic element. But of which of the two symbolic elements, the name or the diet, is vs. 16 the explanation? On the one hand, it is connected through the wording of vs. 16a with vs. 15. Therefore it might seem reasonable to experiment with the relationship of vs. 16 to vs. 15. On the other hand, the symbolic significance of the diet in vs. 15 is much disputed, whereas the symbolic significance of Immanuel is clear. It stands for promise, for deliverance. From the point of view of method, therefore, it seems appropriate to follow the line of least resistance and connect the promise in the explanation with the undoubted element of promise in the sign; in other words, construe vs. 16b as the interpretation of the name Immanuel (vs. 14b).

Three considerations greatly favor this view: (1) If vs. 16 is not the explanation of vs. 14, then vs. 14 is left unexplained, a most suspicious circumstance.[1] It will of course be retorted that if vs. 16 is not the interpretation of vs. 15, it too will be left uninterpreted, and is not this an equally suspicious circumstance? It is, only the suspicions lead off in an entirely different direction. In this dilemma, however, it is much safer to connect vs. 16b with vs. 14, and avoid the consequence of leaving the name Immanuel unexplained because of the next two considerations. (2) Old Testament analogies suggest that where a symbolic name is given, as in vs. 14, followed by an explanatory clause such as vs. 16, the clause should be regarded as the explanation of the name.[2] (3) But above all the analogy of 8:1-3 almost compels us to hold that vs. 16 is to be regarded as the interpretation of the name in vs. 14. There can be no question that the explanatory verse 8:4 gives the interpretation of the name of Isaiah's son Maher-shalal-hash-baz. But the explanatory verse 8:4 and the explanatory verse 7:16 *refer to the same event*, namely, the destruction of Judah's enemies Syria and Ephraim. Here we have two references to boys with symbolical names followed in each case by an explanatory clause, and this explanatory clause refers in each case to exactly the

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[1] The separation of vs. 16 from vs. 14 is the readiest way to gain room for the interpretation of Immanuel as the Messiah. For if vs. 14 is not interpreted by vs. 16, it is not interpreted at all, and the exegete has then free play to import whatever meaning he pleases into Immanuel.

[2] Cf. Gen. 16:11; Ruth 1:20; Gen. 17:5; Hos. 1:4 ff.; I Sam. 4:21.

same event.   It would be in the highest degree improbable if, while
the explanation in 8:4 is an interpretation of the name Maher-shalal-
hash-baz, the *same* interpretation in 7:16 had nothing to do with the
name Immanuel.   The only difference in the two passages is that the
name Maher-shalal-hash-baz explicitly refers only to the destruction
of Judah's enemies, whereas the name Immanuel refers explicitly to
the rescue of Judah *implied* in the destruction of her enemies.[1]
Accordingly the line of least resistance in the interpretation of the sign
is to go on the supposition that vs. 16 is the interpretation of vs. 14.
The arguments in favor of this view are of the most weighty character.
But is there not a serious difficulty in the combination of vs. 16 with
vs. 14 in the way just proposed ?   The sign in the name Immanuel
on this view will be formally related only to one element in the con-
text, namely, the promissory element, the deliverance from the Syrian
crisis.   But this is not the main point which Isaiah had in mind.   The
main point was the destruction of Ahaz by Assyria, vs. 17.   How is
this promissory sign to be reconciled with vs. 17 ?   The answer is:
In the same way in which the promise in vs. 16b is reconciled with
vs. 17.   If the interpretation of the sign (vs. 16b) can be reconciled
with the threat (vs. 17), certainly the sign itself (vs. 14b), of which
vs. 16 is the interpretation, can also be reconciled with the threat.
*Verse 14 can only be brought into contradiction with vs. 17 when a larger
promise is read into the name Immanuel than the explanation actually
given of it in vs. 16b warrants.*[2]   But why did Isaiah offer a sign which
deals with only one of the elements in his announcement, and that
the least important ?   The answer has already been suggested in the

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[1] The somewhat less perfect logical correspondence between name and interpretation
in 7:14 and 16 as compared with 8:3 and 4 should not be allowed to obscure the real
analogy between the two passages.   Perfect symmetry might suggest that as Maher-
shalal-hash-baz is verbally related to the destruction of the enemy, so Immanuel should
be verbally related to the salvation of Judah.   The destruction of the enemy in vs. 16
is not a verbal interpretation of the name Immanuel.   But this discrepancy between
vs. 14 and its explanation in vs. 16 is of no real consequence when the actual situation is
kept in mind.   What Ahaz was afraid of was the attack of Rezin and Pekah.   What
Isaiah originally sought to do was to comfort him, not with general promises, but with
very specific assurances that he had nothing to fear from these particular kings.   When
the prophet repeats this assurance at vs. 16 Ahaz would certainly understand that the
destruction of his enemies meant deliverance for him at that particular juncture.   It
is therefore very natural that the name Immanuel, involving a promise for Ahaz, should
be explained by a verse which refers explicitly only to the destruction of the king's enemies.

[2] The messianic interpretation thus logically demands the deletion of vs. 17.   But
the presence of this verse is absolutely demanded by the context.

discussion of vs. 16b. His intention in so doing was ironical. He repeats the promise which he had originally made in vss. 5–9, and his sign concerns only this promise, but the promise itself has become, and was intended to become, only a mirage. The fulfilment of the promise was the pledge of ruin. The sign, therefore, which directly guarantees the promise indirectly guarantees the ruin also. Yet the sign itself has no double meaning. It is bona fide. The promise will come true. Ahaz will be delivered in the present emergency. The terrible irony of the passage lies just in the fact that the sign is still formally limited *only to the promise*. Thus the introduction of the name Immanuel into our discussion requires no qualification of the results already obtained. On the contrary, this element combines very naturally with our bases. The propriety of introducing this new element in the way indicated is supported on independent grounds (the probable relationship of vs. 16b to vs. 14), and the result strengthens very considerably the rhetorical impressiveness of the passage. But if we adopt the view that vs. 16b is the explanation of the name Immanuel in vs. 14b as our working hypothesis, several supremely important consequences immediately follow.

1. The name Immanuel is to be regarded as a prophetical, not as a memorial, sign. This is the natural inference from the relationship of vs. 16 to vs. 14. The name Immanuel points forward to the deliverance implied in vs. 16. It is a favorite theory at present that the name is rather a memorial sign, and that when it was given it was in view of the fact that the deliverance had already been experienced (cf. Ichabod, I Sam. 4:21). In other words, while the announcement by Isaiah that the child will be given the name Immanuel is of course a prophecy, the actual naming of the child by the mother is not prophetic of a deliverance still future, but is in memory of a deliverance already experienced. The deliverance follows the announcement of the sign by Isaiah, but precedes, or is contemporary with, the naming of the child by the mother. This view is possible, but it is very improbable. Certainly if vs. 16a can be regarded as part of the original prophecy the name must be regarded as given in view of a deliverance yet to be experienced. For the deliverance in vs. 16 does not precede, nor is it contemporary with, the birth of the child, but follows the birth. Otherwise we would expect vs. 16 to be

expressed differently (e.g., before the boy *is born*, the land, etc.). Again the analogy of 8:1–4 strongly suggests that the name is a prophetic, and not a memorial, sign; that is, that it points forward to a deliverance, not only future to the time when Isaiah gave the sign, but also future to the time when the name was bestowed upon the child. The name Maher-shalal-hash-baz unquestionably points forward to a future which was *still* future when the boy received his name. It is reasonable to suppose that the name Immanuel is a prophetic sign in exactly the same way.[1]

2. If vs. 16*b* is the explanation of the name Immanuel (vs. 14*b*), it follows in the next place that the promise in the name has nothing to do with the messianic hope. It is a promise the fulfilment of which is itself a guaranty of ruin. No such promise can be a messianic promise. Accordingly all explanations of the other elements of vs. 14 which play with the idea that a larger hope is contained in the name Immanuel must be abandoned.

3. It follows further that if the promise involved in the name Immanuel ("God with us") is fulfilled in vs. 16, and that fulfilment is a guaranty of subsequent destruction, then no true religious value from Isaiah's point of view can be ascribed to this name. The promise made in the name is made to an unbelieving king; hence the religious conviction expressed in it must be interpreted as a superficial religious conviction analogous to the claim in Amos 5:14.[2]

4. It follows in the fourth place that if the confidence expressed in the name Immanuel is a false religious confidence, neither Isaiah nor any of the Remnant can be included in the "us," as is so often done, and the various attempts to connect the promise in Immanuel with the promise contained in the name Shear-jashub must be given up. But who then is included in the "us"? Naturally the person

[1] To support the memorial theory of the sign Immanuel by Exod. 3:12 is a very doubtful expedient. We have already seen that the sign in this passage is an artificial sign, not a real one. It occurs in a literary composition written long after the event and with a knowledge of the subsequent history. Such a composition offers no safe parallel to a report of an actual historical conversation.

[2] Cf. especially Professor Porter, *JBL*, 1895, p. 26. This view of Professor Porter has not met with the favor which I believe it deserves. I very cheerfully accord to Professor Porter the merit of being the first to recognize the true significance of the name Immanuel in the present connection. I am sure that he will equally welcome the fact that I arrived at the same conclusion before I had read his valuable article, though I am indebted to him for the confirmatory use of Amos 5:14.

talking and those whom that person may represent. But who is
the person talking? Who names the child? The significance of
the name Immanuel is the first thing to interest us in vs. 14b; the
identification of the one who gives the name is the second question of
importance in connection with this clause.

5. According to the present vocalized text the person talking is
supposed to be the ʿalmah. The verb קָרָאת is construed as a third
feminine, though the pointing is that of the second feminine. But
the second feminine is certainly out of place here as the ʿalmah is
spoken of in the third person. The third feminine in ת, though
not without analogy, is unusual, far more unusual than is generally
supposed.[1] It is therefore not the part of a cautious exegesis to adopt
the abnormal form in the present case so readily and as a matter of
course as is commonly done. This caution is all the more in order in
view of the fact that the versions do not appear to recognize the third
feminine at this point. The LXX, Aq., and Sym. read second
person, and this is affirmed to be the regular translation by Eusebius,
Procopius, and Jerome.[2] The Vulg. reads *vocabitur*, and so also the
Syr., while Matt. 1:16 reads the indefinite plural. If the consonantal
text alone is considered, the verb is read most naturally as a *second
masculine*. Since Ahaz has been the only person addressed in the
present scene the interpretation of the verb as a second masculine
would seem to be the most natural one. This agrees admirably with
the ironical significance already attached to the name Immanuel.
Who is guilty of a false and superficial reliance upon Jahweh if not

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[1] König, *Lehrgebäude*, II, 420, gives twelve instances outside the present passage of the
third fem. in ת to which may be added Gen. 33:11. Of these, three are certainly corrupt,
Exod. 5:16; Ezek. 24:12; 46:17. Two are probably corrupt, Gen. 33:11 (the versions
read first person) and Ps. 118:23 (the versions suggest a part. or adj., not the third fem.).
Four cases can be just as well regarded as regular fem.—in ת— written defectively, Lev.
25:21; 26:24; Jer. 13:19; II Kings 9:37. The Keri at II Kings 9:37 itself suggests
that this is what has happened. There are left only three passages, Deut. 32:36 (the
only case of a strong verb ending in ת, the other cases being in ל״ה or ל״א verbs) and
Deut. 31:29 =Jer. 44:23. In these last two instances in which the same phrase occurs
we have, curiously enough, the same form as in Isaiah, though coming from a different
verb. The form in ת is of course theoretically possible, actually occurs before suffs.,
and is recognized by the grammarians (cf. Stade, p. 236; *Ges. Kautzsch*, Sec. 74 R. 1 and
44 R. 4), and Meinhold has probably gone too far in demanding its elimination from the
grammars (cf. *Der Heilige Rest*, p. 120). Nevertheless the statistics just given certainly
admonish to caution in adopting the form unless it is found to be absolutely necessary
to do so.

[2] Cf. Holmes and Parsons.

Ahaz? I do not mean to claim that the construction of קָרָאת as a second masculine and the identification of the subject with Ahaz are inferences which *necessarily* follow upon the hypothesis that vs. 16 is the interpretation of Immanuel in vs. 14*b*. Nevertheless they are inferences which naturally suggest themselves when once that hypothesis has been adopted, and they tend to strengthen the hypothesis as well as to receive themselves support from it.[1]

Thus far we have treated only one of the elements in the sign, the name Immanuel (vs. 14*b*). This was found to be a prophetic sign. But something more than a prophecy must be found in the sign. Isaiah originally offered a sign to Ahaz as a confirmation of his promise of deliverance. When he actually gives the sign we naturally expect it to have the same function which it was originally to have, even though the nature of it need not have been exactly the same as Ahaz would have chosen. This expectation is confirmed by the fact that the promise in vs. 16 is the same promise for which Isaiah originally offered the sign as a guaranty. We are therefore dealing at 7:14 with a prophetic sign that is at the same time confirmatory. To ignore this fact is to ignore one of the prime conditions that must be satisfied by the interpretation of the passage. But when this conclusion is reached a new problem presents itself. In what does the confirmatory element consist? It cannot be in the name of the child. The name is a prophecy and not a guaranty of a prophecy. The mere fact that the child is to bear a certain name is not sufficient to import into the sign such a confirmatory character as the context requires. Now of the two remaining elements in the sign, the conception and birth of the child on the one hand (vs. 14*a*) and his diet on the other (vs. 15), the first element is much more likely to contain the confirmatory element than the last. The diet of butter and honey, on the face of it at least, is symbolic and would therefore presumably relate itself to the prophetic part of the sign found in the name Immanuel rather than to the confirmatory part. Method suggests, therefore, that we should first of all attempt to find the

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[1] The construction of the verb as a third fem. which is based upon one of the two grammatically possible interpretations of the pointed text, which is itself only an interpretation, is no doubt due to the supposition that the other implications of the verses exclude Ahaz as the subject of קָרָאת. The difficulty found here may best be treated in a later connection.

confirmatory element in vs. 14a.[1] This leads us to our next experiment.

11. *Second experiment. Consideration of vs. 14a, the conception and birth of the child.*—The elements in vs. 14a which might conceivably attract attention and give to the sign its confirmatory character could be conjecturally either something peculiar in the nature of the conception and birth of the child, or something peculiar in the personality of the mother of the child, the *ᶜalmah*. In the latter case the personality of the *ᶜalmah* becomes very important. Traditional interpretations have always attempted to discover the confirmatory element in the conception and birth of the child. Since the use of this passage in the First Gospel it has been customary to find in vs. 14a an announcement of a virgin birth. At this late date it seems hardly necessary to enter again into a detailed refutation of this view. If it were Isaiah's intention to announce a virgin birth we would expect him to express this astounding fact in clear and unmistakable language. The very reverse of this is true. In order unambiguously to express the idea of a virgin birth two conditions must be fulfilled: the word *ᶜalmah* must express the idea of virginity, and the verbal adjective הָרָה must clearly indicate that the conception takes place in the present, that the virgin conceives *as a virgin*. Otherwise it might be possible to hold that, though the mother of Immanuel may have been a virgin at the time Isaiah spoke this oracle, she was so no longer at the time of the conception. Neither of these conditions is fulfilled. While the word *ᶜalmah* can undoubtedly be applied, perhaps in the Old Testament is always applied, to one who is a virgin, the word itself does not indicate this fact. Again, while the phrase הָרָה הִנֵּה may unquestionably refer to the pregnancy of the mother as already existing, it by no means necessarily does so. Strictly

[1] It is probably because of the desire to avoid the troublesome questions that gather around vs. 14a that the attempt has been so often made in recent years to construe the sign Immanuel as a purely memorial sign. Following an early suggestion of Eichhorn, it is supposed that in the future *any* mother may name her child Immanuel in view of the fact that Judah at the time the name is given has already been or is being delivered. The naming of Ichabod (I Sam. 4:21) and Exod. 3:12 has been urged in support of this view. But we have seen that Exod. 3:12 offers a very dubious analogy to the present passage. The name Ichabod is indeed given as a memorial sign, though the word "sign" is not used in the context, but the context in which that name is given does not require that a confirmatory element should be found in the birth and naming of Ichabod, whereas the context of 7:14 does require this. Commentators have slurred over the problem of Isa. 7:14 at this point in a quite inexcusable way.

construed, the language may equally well or even better suggest that the conception as well as the birth of the child is in the future.   The point here is that if the conception or pregnancy as contrasted with the birth were definitely located in the present it would be natural to distinguish between the present pregnancy and the future birth by different verb forms, whereas if both pregnancy and birth are placed in the future the same verb forms can be used for both occurrences. The latter mode of expression is adopted in the present instance. The attempt to find a virgin birth in vs. 14 must accordingly be given up.   An allusion to so remarkable an event would have to be expressed in exact and explicit terms if it were to be understood.   But this is not the case.   Neither lexically nor grammatically, even apart from the requirements of the contexts, can .this interpretation be defended.[1]   But if we are not to find the confirmatory element in a virgin birth, in what does it exist?   It may consist, as has been suggested by others, in the fact that Isaiah prophesied the birth of a son, not of a daughter.   But is it limited to this?   I doubt it.   In order to have any force at all the prophecy of a son's birth would have to connect that birth with *some particular ʿalmah*.   An indefinite, unidentifiable mother will not meet the conditions of a confirmatory sign at all.   At this point, therefore, the personality of the ʿalmah enters into the discussion.   Who is she?

As Isaiah does not tell us in so many words who the ʿalmah is, we are again left to conjecture.   But conjecture must keep within the requirements of the context which have been already established. It will be most convenient to proceed by the method of elimination. Five possibilities have been advanced in the history of the interpretation of this passage.

1. The ʿalmah is the Virgin Mary (cf. Matt. 1:23 and, following this, the ecclesiastical interpretation).   But we have just seen that Isaiah was not thinking in this connection of a virgin birth, and, further, he could not have been thinking of the mother of Jesus for the reason that Immanuel was to be born in the immediate future.

2. The guess (it is nothing more than a guess) has recently been advanced that Isaiah is here alluding to a mythological conception

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[1] It would never have occurred to anyone had not the incorrect translation of ʿalmah by παρθένος in the LXX been unfortunately carried over into Matt. 1:23.

current among the people at that time, and that the ʿalmah is the maid mother of the Messiah who was believed by Isaiah to be coming in the immediate future. It will be observed that in principle this interpretation is the same as the ecclesiastical interpretation. It sees in the ʿalmah a definite person (hence the article that accompanies ʿalmah is the definite article) and it sees in her the mother (probably virgin mother) of the Messiah. It differs from the ecclesiastical interpretation in that it connects the idea of a virgin birth and a Messiah with a popular messianic eschatology current in Isaiah's day and rooted in ancient mythological conceptions, and recognizes that Isaiah expects a fulfilment in the immediate future. Apart from the lack of all proof that there was such a messianic eschatology existing at that time we have seen that the name Immanuel cannot possibly embody such a hope. It is a prophecy of a temporary deliverance which itself was to be the guaranty of ultimate destruction.

3. The favorite view of modern scholars has been that the ʿalmah is no definite person at all, but any woman of marriageable years who may happen to have a child in the immediate future (the article is now taken generically). Such a person will be able to name her son Immanuel in view of the deliverance already experienced at the time the name is given. This theory violates one of the main requirements of the context, namely, that the sign should have in it a confirmatory element. By construing the sign as an exclusively memorial sign this theory is able to avoid some of the perplexities of the passage, but it does so at the expense of all exegetical probability. This theory is really due to an attempt, whether consciously or unconsciously, to rationalize the passage and make it more acceptable to the modern viewpoint, in the present instance a historically indefensible attempt.

4. The ʿalmah is the prophet's wife. In that case it would not be possible to hold that Ahaz named the child. The vocalized text would have to be followed, according to which the mother names it. But if it is Isaiah's own wife who names it she, and no doubt Isaiah himself, would be included in the "us." It would follow that Immanuel would no longer indicate a superficial expression of religious confidence, and the promise in the name would contain a deeper significance than is found in the explanation. In

other words, the whole course of our investigation thus far would have to be retraced and the conclusions revised. Further, while the term ʿalmah does not in itself indicate a virgin, it is impossible to suppose that it could be applied to a woman who had already borne a child, as Isaiah's wife had done (cf. vs. 3). To suppose, in order to meet this objection, that the mother of Shear-jashub had died and that Immanuel was the son of a second marriage is absolutely gratuitous.

5. There is just one other theory left that need be considered. The ʿalmah is the wife of Ahaz and, because of the meaning of the word, a young wife or bride who had not yet borne a child. Instead of boxing the compass of exegetical and critical possibilities and returning with Gressmann in principle to the ancient interpretation first defended elaborately by Justin Martyr, we have boxed the compass and returned in principle to the ancient interpretation advocated by his opponent, the Jew Trypho.[1] The theory that the ʿalmah is a wife of Ahaz has in its favor the following facts:

a) It answers the *general* demand of the context for a *confirmatory* sign. A confirmatory sign which has to do with the birth of a child

[1] Cf. Dialogue with Trypho, chap. 43, end, and chap. 44. Trypho identifies the child with Hezekiah. This was refuted by Jerome on chronological grounds (cf. II Kings 16:2 and 18:2). In later times Jewish scholars held that the child was an otherwise unknown son of one of the other wives of Ahaz. But the chronological objections to the identification of Immanuel with Hezekiah are not so serious as is usually supposed. The question turns on the *age* of Hezekiah at his accession and the year of his accession. If II Kings 16:2 and 18:2 be compared it is obvious that something is the matter. Ahaz, according to these statements, was thirty-six years old at his death, and Hezekiah was at the same time twenty-five. Hezekiah must therefore have been born when his father was only eleven years old and nine years before he came to the throne. This is very doubtful. It has been conjectured that twenty-five is to be cut down to fifteen. In that case Hezekiah would be born just about the time of his father's accession, for his father reigned sixteen, or by predating, fifteen years. But when did Hezekiah himself ascend the throne? The Bible gives two flatly contradictory dates for this. According to II Kings 18:10 he began to reign in 727, according to 18:13 in 714. Neither of these dates is probable. On the other hand, there are three indirect but independent and therefore all the more convincing arguments that he came to the throne in 720. On independent grounds the first year of Ahaz must be placed about 735. His death year and the year of Hezekiah's succession would therefore be in 720. In the death year of Ahaz we have a prophecy from Isaiah 14:28-32 (there is no sound reason for questioning either the title or the substantial genuineness of this prophecy) which can be explained most adequately (with Winckler) out of the situation in 720. Finally, if the regnal years of the Jewish kings be reckoned back from the fall of Jerusalem they will place the first year of Hezekiah in 720. If now he was fifteen instead of twenty-five at his accession he would have been born in 735, or in the same year in which the episode in Isa., chap. 7, is to be placed. The coincidence is certainly striking, but it is admittedly based on the conjectural emendation of twenty-five to fifteen at II Kings 18:2. The difficulty that Hezekiah was not called Immanuel will be considered later.

logically requires that the mother of the child be definite and identifiable. The birth of any son from any mother fails to answer one of the most important conditions of the context. But if the context demands a definite and identifiable woman *she must be well known, for Isaiah does not feel it necessary to define her.* He assumes in this oracle that Ahaz and the court to whom it is addressed will know to what woman he refers. Here again it must be kept in mind that we are dealing with the report of an actual conversation. Those to whom Isaiah spoke must have known to whom he referred. The personality of the ʿalmah would therefore be familiar to them (the article must be definite, and not generic, to meet the conditions of the context). If she is not the wife of Isaiah himself, what is more likely than that she belongs to the court? The analogy with 8:1–4 is again suggestive. Isaiah does not deal with *any* children born of *any* mother in 8:1–4, but with *his own* children, and he takes particular care that the setting up of the placard with the enigmatic name upon it should be solemnly attested by witnesses. Isaiah knows what is necessary to impress the popular imagination of his day far better than would a modern critic. He dealt in signs that were verifiable, with real concrete facts that could be attested. Hence the theory that the ʿalmah is a well-known personality is demanded by the requirement of a confirmatory sign, and the conjecture that this well-known individual belongs to the court and is probably the wife of Ahaz himself is a conjecture that has every probability in its favor, since it is Ahaz and the court whom Isaiah is addressing, and they must know who she is.

b) It answers the general demand of the context for a *striking* sign. A confirmatory sign must be in some way or other a sign that will immediately arrest the attention. The fact that a son is prophesied, and not a daughter, has a certain element of the wonderful in it. But how much more striking and impressive the prophecy becomes if the mother of the son is the king's own wife.

c) This immediate connection of the mother of Immanuel with Ahaz which so increases the effectiveness of the sign agrees in the third place with the probability that Ahaz is to name the child.

d) Finally the theory that the ʿalmah is the wife of Ahaz answers the specific suggestions of the context that the sign should have a

bitterly ironical character.   We have seen how the various elements of the passage can only be explained when the irony of it is allowed for. When this is done all the elements thus far considered combine into a satisfactory solution.   What more stinging irony can be imagined than that the sign which Ahaz had rejected should be accomplished in his own family, than that the mock piety with which he rejected Isaiah's offer (vs. 12) should be echoed in the name Immanuel which Isaiah says he could give to his own son!   But at this point we meet with the one objection of any consequence which can be advanced against this theory.   Would Isaiah be likely to leave the possibility of fulfilling this sign in the power of Ahaz?   Here there are two distinct occurrences to be kept in mind, the naming of the child and his birth.   I do not think it is necessary to take the prophecy of the naming of the child too strictly.   When Isaiah says, "*Thou shalt call his name Immanuel,*" all he means is that the king *may* call him by this name.   *He is interested, not in the certainty of the naming, but only in the certainty of that for which the name stands.*   The absoluteness of the expression is due to the latter consideration rather than to the former.   This need not, therefore, be regarded as doing any violence to the language of the text.[1]   On the other hand, the reference to the birth cannot be so interpreted.   The argument has driven us to the conclusion that if the sign is to be confirmatory an actual birth must be posited.   But if Ahaz is to be the father of the child, is not the objection pertinent?   Could he not have prevented the fulfilment of the sign if he felt disposed to do so?   Two answers may be made to this question.   It is clear from all we know of Ahaz that at this time, at least, he was absolutely indifferent to the warnings of Isaiah.   He was bent on following his own devices.   There is no reason to suppose that he would have paid any attention to the oracle of the prophet. Isaiah would be to him as the son of the prophet was to the servants of Jehu, "a mad fellow" (II Kings 9:11).   He would probably not have allowed Isaiah's words to govern him in his domestic affairs any more than in his political affairs.   Therefore, even if the pregnancy of the ᶜalmah is to be thought of as still future, the objection

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[1] The foregoing interpretation of וְקָרָאת is that which is practically adopted by those who interpret the sign as a memorial sign and regard the ᶜalmah as any young woman.   It will also meet the objection that if the child really was Hezekiah there is no evidence that he bore the name Immanuel.

to the present interpretation arising out of that fact is by no means so serious as is sometimes supposed. The objection does not allow sufficiently for the character of Ahaz or for his attitude toward Isaiah on the present occasion. But the previous question may also be raised: Is the pregnancy of the ʿalmah to be thought of as still future, or may it not be regarded as an already accomplished fact? In the latter case the objection to the theory that the ʿalmah is the king's wife vanishes. It would be no longer in the power of Ahaz to prevent the accomplishment of the prophecy even if he were so disposed.

Now it has already been pointed out that the language of vs. 14a, if taken by itself, more naturally expresses the fact that the conception as well as the birth is still in the future. It was argued that if a virgin birth were intended a present pregnancy would have to be assumed, and we would accordingly expect the verb forms to express the distinction between the present pregnancy and the future birth in a manner different from the way they actually do. But if it were *not* Isaiah's purpose to announce so astounding a fact as a virgin birth, which would demand the utmost explicitness of statement, but rather to announce some other event more in line with the ordinary operations of nature, the question may fairly be raised whether such exactness of statement is then necessary, and whether the language is not compatible with the supposition of a present pregnancy. It must be remembered that the Hebrew is largely indifferent to the fine distinctions of tense in our sense of the word "tense." A distinction which would be felt as almost necessary in Greek or Latin the Hebrew might easily ignore. Again, in an oral address such as Isa. 7:14, delivered at a moment of great excitement, precision in the use of tenses might very well be neglected unless some unusual thought such as the virgin birth absolutely depended upon it. There is finally a general consideration which makes decidedly in favor of a present pregnancy. The context very strongly suggests that the fulfilment of the sign is to take place in the immediate future. If the ʿalmah were already pregnant, the sign would have to be accomplished at least within the year. If she were not yet pregnant, the time of the fulfilment of the sign is left altogether undefined. This is most unlikely. While, therefore, a strict construction of the phraseology of vs. 14a would undoubtedly point to a

future conception, a looser construction is certainly possible and is distinctly favored by the context. A final question in this connection may be asked. If the ꜥalmah was actually pregnant at the time these words were spoken, was this condition in an initial or an advanced stage? Here we must probably leave the realm even of conjecture and simply guess. But if her confinement were in its initial stage the sign would gain very much in its arresting character, so necessary to a confirmatory sign. Presumably the condition of the king's bride was not generally known. The prophet's prediction would therefore be all the more startling and the proof that he was speaking in the name of Jahweh all the more convincing. How Isaiah happened to know this generally unknown fact, whether because of a more intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the court or through revelation, is a question which may arise for the modern mind, but not for Isaiah's contemporaries. If it proved true, they would argue that his knowledge was revealed to him by his God.

Thus far the conclusions arrived at are as follows: (1) The context requires that the passage, vss. 14–17, should be construed as a threat. Verse 17 meets this condition and is exactly the kind of a threat which we should expect. (2) Verse 16b is compatible with vs. 17 when construed in irony. As surely as the deliverance from Rezin and Pekah comes true (vs. 16b), so surely, because of the unbelief of Ahaz, will the destruction by Assyria come true (vs. 17). (3) But vs. 16b is the interpretation of the promise in the name Immanuel (vs. 14). (4) Hence the promise in this name is a restricted promise, concerning only the deliverance from the coalition. (5) Since the fulfilment of this promise is the pledge of subsequent ruin no messianic hope nor any genuine religious confidence can be expressed in the name Immanuel. (6) Hence unbelieving Ahaz is probably the person who names the child, and the name as put into the king's mouth by Isaiah has again an ironical force. (6) But the sign which the prophet offers is to confirm the promise of deliverance, not the threat of destruction. The latter is guaranteed by the fulfilment of the promise of deliverance. The sign is accordingly to be construed as a confirmatory sign, not as a memorial sign. (7) The confirmatory element was found to consist not so much in any marvel attaching to the nature of the birth as in the personality of the mother. The ꜥalmah is the wife of

Ahaz, more particularly his young bride, whose pregnancy was generally unknown. The fact that the sign was thus to be accomplished in Ahaz's own family gives an added sting to the irony of it. It is claimed that thus far the argument has been conducted with more attention to the requirements of the literary context and the historical situation and with less resort to pure conjecture than any rival theory that has thus far been advanced. The suggestions of the passage itself have been followed out and no attempt has been made to modernize its meaning. The various elements have been found to combine into a fair solution without unduly forcing any of the words or thoughts. Our first two experiments may therefore be considered to be satisfactory. What remains is admittedly far more problematical.

12. *Third experiment. The meaning of vs. 16a.*—On the supposition that Immanuel was a son of Ahaz the puzzling phrase in vs. 16a may become intelligible. This phrase seems to me to have been altogether misunderstood by the great majority of commentators. They take it as having a purely chronological significance, as marking the age of the child before which the fulfilment of the prophecy is to be effected. But there is no agreement among those who hold this view as to the exact age intended by the phrase. Many hold that it implies a very young child, others that it implies a young man of mature years. It is true that the analogy of 8:3 might suggest that the phrase has to do only with a time limit. But if it is carefully examined this view of it cannot be sustained. Practically all of these scholars agree that the phrase is the exact equivalent of the phrases used elsewhere, "to know good and evil," or "to discern between good and evil," which do seem at times to imply the attainment of a certain age. But this view is not correct, as Bredenkamp long ago recognized. The emphasis is not upon the mere ability to discriminate and choose either in the moral or the physical sphere, that may be supposed to characterize a certain stage of development, but upon the fact of a *correct choice*. The boy will know how to reject the evil and choose the good. The emphasis falls not upon the age of the boy, whether young or old, but upon his *character*. It is difficult not to think that the phrase is chosen in deliberate antithesis to the choice which Ahaz has just made. The king had chosen evil

and rejected the good.   If Immanuel is Ahaz's son, we may be able
to see why Isaiah, in keeping with the general import of the passage,
expresses himself as he does in vs. 16a.   Again his purpose is ironical.
Through irony he points out the tragedy of the situation.   The
consequences of the king's evil choice are irretrievable.   Before
the child, by a proper choice, would be able to alter the doom pro-
nounced against his father and his father's land this doom will fall.
The possibility that the child, unlike Ahaz, might choose the good
cannot change the consequences of the king's fateful act.   This
contrast between the disastrous choice of the father and the possible
correct choice of the son, which would nevertheless be unavailing,
heightens the tragedy of the situation.   One objection to this view of
vs. 16a at once occurs.   The interpretation implies that the good
choice of the child cannot alter the doom, but vs. 16 says that before
the child can make this choice *deliverance* will come!   Does not vs. 16
express the exact opposite of what the foregoing suggestion would
lead us to expect?   This is at first sight a serious difficulty.   It can
only be met by emphasizing once more that the ultimate aim of Isaiah
in this passage is to-announce the judgment to be accomplished by
Assyria in vs. 17.   The presence of the promise in vs. 16 can only be
accounted for on the supposition that Isaiah is expressing himself
with terrible irony and that he really means to make the fulfilment of
the promise of deliverance in vs. 16 the guaranty of the threat of
destruction in vs. 17.   *If this initial promise is once accepted*, then all
that has been thus far advanced in the interpretation of vss. 14 and
16a follows, if not by stringent, logical necessity, at least naturally
and easily.   It is because this premise is so absolutely essential to
the theory of the passage which has been sketched out that at the
outset the attempt was made to establish it securely out of the data
furnished by the literary and historical context of this scene.

Having examined in due order the various ingredients in the sign,
the significance of the name and the identity of the person who gives
it in vs. 14a, the significance of the conception and birth and the
identity of the ʿalmah in vs. 14a, and the force of the phrase "to reject
the evil and choose the good" in vs. 16a, there remains the task of
investigating the significance of the child's diet and the relationship
of that diet to his rejection of the evil and choice of the good (vs. 15).

This *fourth experiment* I must postpone to another occasion. It would involve a review of all the main theories of the passage hitherto advanced and would require as much space as has already been devoted to the other experiments. I can only record my conviction that vs. 15 is an ingredient which will not combine either with the other ingredients of the sign or with the great bases furnished by the context in any satisfactory way. Every experiment with vs. 15 ends in failure. The conclusion is therefore inevitable. Verse 15 is an intrusion into the passage. It is probably a gloss which takes advantage of vs. 16a and attempts to give to Immanuel a messianic significance. A complete discussion of the Immanuel prophecy would also have to deal with the problems presented by chaps. 8 and 9:1–7. But for these the spaciousness of a monograph is necessary. I am not so foolish as to make the claim that the theory advanced in this article is free of all difficulties and proof against attack, even apart from the difficulties which grow out of vs. 15, but I do venture to hope that it takes into account the conditions of the problem more candidly than is usually done in the discussions with which I am familiar, and that in spite of the incompleteness of the argument something has been accomplished by way of setting up signposts to warn against false paths and to mark out the way of the future investigator more clearly.

Critical Notes

TWO SUMERIAN LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Tablet No. 1596 of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania gives the reading of two words which are of some importance. These I wish to bring to the notice of Sumerologists. The tablet, containing various short sentences, is a bilingual schooltext. Rev. line 7 reads:

ur-tur-ri ê'-ta-ab-și-en
kal-ba-am šu-și-a

The phonetic compliment *ri* points to the reading of 𒆤 = *tur*. *Ur-tur* 𒌨𒌉 is to be distinguished from *ur-ku* 𒌨 which interchanges with *ur-gal*, "large, or grown-up dog," in contrast to *ur-tur* 𒌨𒆤 *miranu*. The *ur-tur-ri* in the present text is doubtless in opposition to *ur-bar-ra*, "the wild dog." The Semitic translation is too vague. *Ur-tur-ri* should be translated by "house-dog," or "domesticated dog."

The other point of note concerns a new verb, which is found Rev. line 9:

ur-tur-ri šir-ra-ab-și-en ma-ab-en-na,

which the Semitic translates:

ku-ši-da i-ga-ab-bu-ú,

"Conquer ye (the dog) they say." The text gives us for the first time the Sumerian verb *en(n)a*, "to speak." With *en(n)a* compare *emesal enim* = *inim*, "word."

<div align="right">H. F. Lutz</div>

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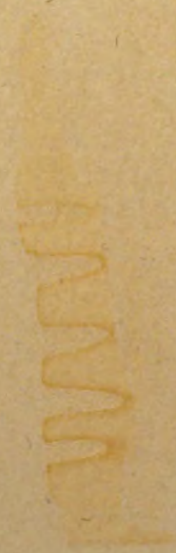*postage extra (weight 10 oz.)*

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